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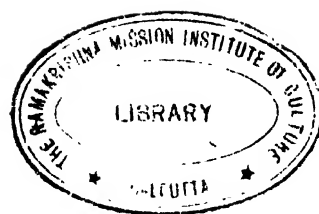
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THE  
*CALCUTTA REVIEW.*

VOLUME CV.

July 1897.

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*No man who hath fasted learning but will confess the many ways of  
profiting by those who, not contented with stilted receipts, are able to manage  
and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust  
and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish  
and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not unfit  
to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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No. CCIX.

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

*No. 209.—JULY 1897.*

## ART. I.—BABAR PADSHAH GHAZI

**I**F we except his grandson, Akbar, the Emperor Bábar is probably the most interesting and engaging of all eastern kings. There have been among them wiser and more virtuous princes, but there has not apparently been any one so genial as he, or one whom it would have been such a pleasure to meet. It may be objected that this favourable estimate is due to Bábar's being the eastern king of whose private life we know most. Be it\* so; but then it is to his own energy and frankness that we owe this. He has been at pains to record his life and adventures for us, and he has had the honesty to tell of his failings and mistakes as well as of his merits and successes. Hence his autobiography is one of those priceless records which are for all time, and is fit to rank with the confessions of St. Augustine and Rousseau, and the Memoirs of Gibbon and Newton. In Asia it stands almost alone, the nearest approach to it being the Memoirs of Timur, the early pages of which contain some vividly described adventures. But the genuineness of Timur's Memoirs is not beyond suspicion, and they do not contain much revelation of character. Akbar, unfortunately, never wrote his Memoirs, and all that we possess of him is some specimens of his Table-talk, which his Secretary, Abu-l-Fazl, has preserved at the end of the *Ain*. They are interesting as far as they go, but they are scanty and contain very few facts. Jehāngīr's Memoirs are gossipy and sometimes cynically frank; but then he was such a poor creature that we cannot derive much pleasure or profit from his narrative.

Every page of Bábar's autobiography will repay study, but at the same time it is not a book to be unreservedly praised, or one which can be described as fascinating for the general reader. Perhaps too much language of this kind has been used regarding it, just as the entertaining nature of Bernier's *Travels* has

\* As Elphinstone well remarks.—“It may be because others have not opened their hearts as he has done, but there certainly is no person in Asiatic history into whose tastes and feelings we can enter as into Bábar's.”

been too exclusively dwelt on, with the result in both cases that the ordinary reader has been disappointed. It would be better to be honest and to acknowledge, with the old scholar in Voltaire, that many celebrated books are tedious to read. Bábar's work is a most valuable document, and a repertory of interesting information, but it is desultory and unequal, and often badly arranged. He had but little skill in composition, and much that he records is so remote from us that it is only by an effort that we can interest ourselves in it. As is the case with nearly every famous book, from Herodotus down to Macaulay's history, the first part of Bábar's Memoirs is incomparably the best. He worked it up much more than the later record, which is often a dry journal or diary, and it contains sketches of character which may be compared for graphic power with those in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, or in the history of Clarendon. To sum up, we may say that Bábar's autobiography is, as it were, a lantern lighting up India and Central Asia for some forty years (1494-1529), but that the lantern is not elaborately wrought, and that the scenes it illuminates are often arid wastes.

Bábar was of princely descent, his father, Umar Shaikh, being ruler of Farghána (also called Khokand and now a Russian province,) and his mother Qutluk Nigár Khánim, a daughter of Yunas, the Khán of Mogulistan. The father was a lineal descendant of Timur, or Tamarlane, being his third son's great-grandson, while the mother was a direct descendant of Chaghatái, the second son of the great Chingiz Khán—the Cambuscan bold of Chaucer and Milton. Babar was their second child, and was born on 6 Muharram, 888, (14th February, 1483). He was thus only a few months older than Luther, who was born on 10th November, 1483. The birth of the child was a cause of great rejoicing. A messenger was at once sent with the tidings to his grand-father (Yunas) in Mogulistan, and the good old man, though then seventy years of age, came to Farghána and spent some time with the parents. Khwája Nasíru-d-dín Ahrár, the great saint of Samarkand, was requested to choose a name for the child, and blessed him, says Haidar Mirzá, by calling him Zahíru-d-dín (Defender of the Faith). Muhammad Zahíru-d-dín, however, was too foreign and high-sounding a name to please the people of Farghána, so the child came to be generally known as Bábar—a name said\* to be derived from the Persian word *Bábar*, a

\* I express a doubt only because I am not aware that any contemporaneous authority has interpreted the name as meaning tiger. The fact that two leopards are sculptured outside the rock-chamber near Kandahár seems to be an allusion to Bábar's name, and to support the current derivation. See Darmesteter, *Journal Asiat.* for 1890, p. 214.

tiger. It is not clear to me, however, why a Persian word should have been in use in Farghāna, or why the first syllable was lengthened. There is a Turki word, *Bābarī*, or *Bārtī*, meaning ancient, and applied to old and faithful servants, which is frequently used by Bábar in his memoirs. Possibly his name may be connected with this word. It may also be pointed out that this was not the first time a prince had been called Bábar. There was a Bábar Mirzā, a grandson of Shāhrukh, who was a conspicuous prince in his day, and died in 1457. Our Bábar's first governor, Mazīd Beg, had been in Bábar Mirzā's service, and possibly it was in this way that the child came to be called Bábar. Bábar also speaks of a lad belonging to the camp-bazar who had the name of Bābarī. In an interesting passage of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, (Ross's translation p. 172; see also p. 83,) we are told how the marriage between Umar Shaikh and Yunas Khān's daughter came about. He tells us that in old times there was enmity between the Chaghataīs and the Moguls, meaning\* by the former term Umar Shaikh's ancestors, and by the latter the people ruled over by Yunas Khān. It was true that Timur and his descendants had kept up the fiction of having some one of the family of Chingīz Khān as the Grand Khān, in whose name all orders were passed, but then they had also treated him as a prisoner, and kept him shut up in Samarkand. However, when Abū Sa'id, the paternal grandfather of Bábar, was established on his throne, he disregarded this usage. He was a prince of great energy and ability, and felt himself strong enough to do away with the phantom of a double government. "I have no need of a Khān," he said. But at the same time he was anxious to set up some one as a counterpoise to Isān Bugha, a descendant of Chingīz and the ruler of Mogulistan. So he sent for Isān Bugha's brother, Yunas, who was then leading the retired life of a scholar in Shiraz, and proposed a compact with him. This was that Yunas should relinquish his fanciful claim to be Grand Khān, and that, in return, Abū Sa'id should help him against his brother. Yunas accepted these terms, and swore to observe them. Friendship was thus established between them, and this was

\* This must, I think, be the meaning here, but, as a matter of fact, Yunas was more of a Chaghataī than Umar. Yunas was a direct descendant of Chaghataī, whereas Umar and his ancestor Timur were only doubtfully connected with Chingīz, and that, too, merely by collateral descent. The fiction of a titular Khān was invented apparently by Timur, but, instead of taking him from the descendants of Chaghataī, he chose Syurghatmish, who was a descendant of Chaghataī's younger brother, Oktai. It was Sultan Mahmud, a son of Syurghatmish who captured Bajazet at the battle of Angora. Timur never called himself by any higher title than Amīr. When the illustrious Ulugh Beg was condemned to death, his parricidal son used the fiction of a titular Khān to sanction the murder.

by the fall of his pigeon-house. It was situated on the edge of a ravine, and one day it suddenly slid into the abyss, carrying him with it. \* Probably this was the result of one of the earthquakes so common in these mountainous regions. Haidar Mirza mentions, (p. 160,) an instance in which a prince,† together with his wives and children, was killed by the fall of his palace during an earthquake.

Umar Shaikh was killed at Akhsi, a fortress on the north bank of the Sihun or Jaxartes. He had made this his capital, and most of his family were there (Erskine, 20), but the young Bábar was then living at Andijān‡, the old capital of Farghāna, and about 36 miles to the east of Akhri. The news was brought to him next day, and he immediately proceeded to the citadel and assumed the sovereignty. From this time onwards his life was a succession of adventures, of hair-breadth escapes, and of defeats and victories. His father had died at a very critical time, for two princes (one Baber's paternal and the other his maternal uncle) were then on their way to crush him. They continued their advance after Umar's death, thinking, perhaps, that it would be easy to subdue Farghāna when its king was a boy of eleven. If such was their idea, they were disappointed. Umar Shaikh's officers rallied round their young king, and the expedition of the two uncles ended in failure. In a short time Bábar was in a position to take the offensive, and in November, 1497, he took Samarkand. But he never was destined to reign long in this city. Thrice did he take it, but on each occasion he had to evacuate it after a few months' possession. On this first occasion he held it for only one hundred days, on the second, in August 1500, he had to give it up after about a twelvemonth, and on the third and last time, which was in October 1511, he had to abandon it after eight months. The beauty of the place and its associations with the memories of his ancestors, had evidently sunk deep into his mind. He would certainly not have echoed the sentiment of Hafiz, and have given Samarkand and Bokhara for the mole on his mistress's cheek, for, to Babar, Samarkand was herself the beloved. In his *Memoirs* he expatiates on its beauties, saying Samarkand is a wonderfully elegant city, that in the whole habitable world there are few cities so pleasantly situated, and that persons who had travelled in Egypt or Syria admitted that there was

\* Apparently the body was recovered, for Bábar occasionally refers afterwards to his father's tomb at Akhsi.

† Shāh Shaikh. He was Muhammad Sultān, son of Ahmad Khān, maternal uncle of Bábar.

‡ Probably he had been put in charge of the district, for it was the custom of the sovereigns of those days to send their sons very early into the world. Bábar's father was sent to Farghāna with his governor when he was only ten.

nothing comparable in them to the environs of Samarkand. All his life the conquest of Samarkand was flitting before his eyes, and, only two years before his death, we find him writing to his son Humāyūn about his anxiety to get possession of it. He lost Samarkand after his first occupation by having to proceed to Farghāna at the pressing entreaties of his grandmother and his religious teacher. They were urgent that he should protect Andijān, which was threatened by the Moguls, who had espoused the cause of Jehāngīr, Bābar's half-brother. And who were discontented with Bābar because he had not allowed them to plunder, and because he had little to give them. They thought, too, that Babar had become permanently disabled by a severe illness which he contracted at Samarkand. There was also, as Erskine has remarked, some justice in the plea that Jehāngīr was entitled to a share in his father's kingdom, especially as Bābar was now provided for at Samarkand. Bābar himself admits that Jehāngīr had rights, and excuses his refusal to concede to them on the ground that his brother's friends were intemperate in their advocacy. Eventually he had to come to terms and to confirm Jehāngīr in the Akhsi district of Farghāna. Bābar came to Farghāna too late to save Andijān, for it capitulated on the very day he left Samarkand. Nor was this the worst. When his enemies heard that he had arrived at Khojend, they took his teacher and spiritual guide, Khwāja Maulāna, and hung him over the gateway of the citadel of Andijān ! This Khwāja was descended from the celebrated author of the *Hidaya*, and seems to have been a man of great worth. It was owing to his paternal care that Bābar was preserved in his boyhood from the vice of intemperance. "I have no doubt," writes Bābar, "that Khwāja Qazī was a saint. He was a wonderfully bold man, which is no mean proof of sanctity. All mankind, however brave they be, have some little anxiety or trepidation about them. The Khwāja had not a particle of either." Such a sentiment as this, coming from a warrior like Bābar, would have gone to Kingsley's heart !

The result, then, of Bābar's leaving Samarkand for Andijān was that he lost both cities. "I now," he says "became a prey to melancholy and vexation, for, since I had been a sovereign prince, I never before had been separated in this manner from my country and followers; and, since the day I had known myself, I had never experienced such grief and suffering." His uncle, that is his mother's half-brother, Mahmud Sultān, was an amiable man and kindly disposed towards Bābar, but he was destitute of enterprise or military talents. He made an expedition against Farghāna, but had soon to return, and Bābar's followers, seeing no likelihood of his recovering Andijān, deserted in large numbers to rejoin their families there. Only between



200 and 300 men stuck to him, "choosing voluntarily a life of exile and difficulty." Bábar almost broke down under his sorrows. "I was reduced," he says, "to a very distressed condition, and wept a great deal." He retired to Khojend, and was joined there by his mother and grandmother. Bábar, however, had too buoyant a spirit to remain long depressed. Like Ulysses, he was *adversis rerum immersabilis undis*. He soon attempted an expedition against Samarkand, and, when that proved abortive, immediately set about another enterprise and succeeded in surprising a fort by night. As he says: "Inspired as I was with an ambition for conquest and extensive dominion, I would not, on account of one or two defeats, sit down and look idly around me." But his courage still outran his judgment. Though he carried the fort by escalade, he could not garrison it, and was obliged to withdraw without apparently reaping any other advantage from his conquest than that of feasting on the Nasukh melons. "It was the season when the melons were ripe," he says, "and at Nasukh there is a sort of melon termed Ismail Shaikhī. It is a remarkably delicate and agreeable melon, and the pulp is four fingers thick." Next morning, he regretfully adds, the Moghul Begs represented that no possible benefit could result from keeping possession of a single insulated castle. "Indeed," says the poor young man, "there was truth in what they said, so I retired and went back to Khojend." He could not rest there, however, and after awhile went off to the hills of Uratippa, S. W. of Farghāna. Here he was confronted by a holy\* man who, like himself, was an exile and a wanderer. The saint was so much affected by Bábar's distress that he shed tears and prayed over him. That very day, about afternoon prayers, a horseman was seen at the bottom of the valley. He proved to be a messenger from one Alī Dost Taghāi, a relative of Bábar's grandmother. Alī Dost had behaved badly and had deserted Bábar, but he now sent, begging forgiveness, and offering to deliver up the town of Marghilan to him. The place was about a hundred miles away; but Bábar set off at once with some 250 men and travelled all night and till noon of the following day. Then they rested till midnight, and again, setting off and travelling the whole night, and the next day and night, they got to Marghilan at morning prayers. The fort was made over to him, and, this being followed by other successes, he, in June 1499, recovered possession of Farghāna, of which he had been deprived for nearly two years. A false move, however, soon lost him what he had gained. Uzun Hasan, the ringleader of Jehāngīr's party, had capitulated, and Bábar adhered to his agreement so far as

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\* Khwāja Abul Makrām. He was put to death by Shaibani a few years afterwards.

to allow Uzun Hasan to go off without injury to life or property. But he was induced by the clamours of his followers to allow them to take back from Uzun Hasan's men whatever they recognised as their own property. In other words they were allowed to harry them. Bábar frankly acknowledges his mistake. "The order," he says, "seemed reasonable and just in itself, yet it was issued with too much precipitation; and, when there was a rival like Jehāngīr Mīrā at my elbow, it was a senseless thing to exasperate so many men who had arms in their hands. In war and in affairs of State, though there are many things that appear just and reasonable at first sight, yet no matter ought to be finally fixed without being well weighed, and considered in a hundred different lights. From my issuing this single order, what commotions and mutinies arose. This inconsiderate order of mine was, in reality, the ultimate cause of my being expelled a second time from Andijān."

Next year Bábar had one of his greatest successes, for he took Samarkand for the second time. He effected this by a surprise, and it was an achievement of which he was, with justice, very proud. But, like all his other early successes, it was of short duration. Perhaps he was too young yet to bear good fortune with equanimity. Evidently he was highly excited by it. "For nearly a hundred and forty years," he says, "Samarkand had been the capital of my family. A foreign robber (Shaibānī), one knows not whence he came, had seized the kingdom, which dropped from our hands. Almighty God now restored it to me, and gave me back my plundered and pillaged country." His successes made him think that he could venture out of the city and offer battle to Shaibānī. The same feeling of confidence, and a reliance on astrological\* predictions, for which he very sensibly blames himself, induced him to give battle before his allies had come up. The engagement took place on the banks of the Kohik, or Zar-afshān, at Sir-i-pul, (Budgend) in April or May 1501, and resulted in Bábar's being completely defeated. A few months afterwards he had to surrender the town to his great enemy, Shaibānī Khān, and to make a somewhat ignominious treaty with him, whereby\*

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\* Babar says that the reason of his eagerness to engage was that the stars called the Sahrzuldus (or eight stars) were on that day exactly between the two armies, and that, if he had let that day pass, they would have continued favourable to the enemy for the space of 11 or 14 days. "These observances were all nonsense, and my precipitation was without the least valid excuse." No doubt, Bábar remembered this mistake when, later in life, he refused to listen to the astrologer who foretold disaster if he engaged with Rā'ā Sangā. The battle was fought at Samarkand, and I suppose the eight stars are those of the Great Bear, which, with the inclusion of Saha, are eight in number.

Bábar gave Shaibání his elder sister, Khanzáda Begam, in marriage. Naturally Bábar says little about this incident, mentioning it unwillingly and in ambiguous language; but the narratives of his cousin (Haidar Mīrzā) and of his own daughter, Gulbadan, show clearly that the sister was sacrificed to the brother's safety. The story is told in exulting language in the *Shaibání-nāma* published and translated by Vambéry. Possibly the lady was not altogether an unwilling sacrifice, for the poem represents it as a love match between her and Shaibání. But Shaibání's love, such as it was, did not last long. He divorced her after a year or two, and gave her in marriage to one Sayyid Hádí. In December, 1510, both Shaibání and the Sayyid were killed in the battle of Merv, and so Khanzáda had the strange experience of losing two husbands in one day. Afterwards she returned to her brother, and seems to have spent the rest of her days in peace. She survived her brother some 14 years, dying, according to her niece, Gulbadan, in 951 (1544-45). Bábar left Samarkand at midnight, and wandered for hours among the canals of the Soghd. Next morning, however, his joyous spirit reasserted itself, and he amused himself by having a horse-race with his companions. He beat them, but, as he turned round to see how far they were behind, his saddle shifted, and he came to the ground on his head. He was stunned, and all the rest of the day passed as in a dream. However, at evening they feasted on a horse which they had killed and next day they arrived at Dizakh.\* "Here we found," says Bábar, "nice fat flesh, bread of fine flour, well baked, sweet melons, and excellent grapes in great abundance." During the long siege of Samarkand they had suffered the horrors of famine, and the change was delightful.

"In my whole life I never enjoyed myself so much, nor at any period of it felt so sensibly the pleasures of peace and plenty. Enjoyment after suffering, abundance after want, come with increased relish, and afford more exquisite delight. I have four or five times, in the course of my life, passed in a similar manner from distress to ease and from a state of suffering to enjoyment, but this was the first time that I had ever been delivered from the injuries of my enemy, and the pressure of hunger, and passed from them to the ease of security, and the pleasures of plenty. Having rested and enjoyed ourselves two or three days in Dizakh, we proceeded on to Uratippa."

The comfort did not last long. He was soon in distress again, and had to spend his time in the hill country, inuring himself to hardship by walking over the mountains barefoot, and by bathing in icy streams. On one occasion, he tells us, he went down to a stream to perform his ablutions when all but the central channel was frozen over. He plunged into the water and dived sixteen times. His spirits were saddened in

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\* Or Dizakh, The word means key. Schuyler I. 226;

those days by the death of a dear friend and foster-brother. The young man was found lying dead at the foot of a precipice, and there were strong suspicions that he had been murdered. "His death affected me deeply, and I wept incessantly for a week or ten days." At this time he tried once more to measure himself against Shaibānī Khān, but, fortunately, perhaps, for himself, did not fall in with him. "I now began to reflect, that to ramble in this way from hill to hill, without house and without home, without country and without a resting place, could serve no good purpose, and that it was better to go to Tashkend, to the Khān (his maternal uncle)." He accordingly went there. In those dreary days Bábar tried to solace himself by writing verses, and naturally they bear the impress of his misfortunes. One, which he presented to his uncle, began with the words—

No one remembers him who is in adversity ;  
A banished man cannot indulge his heart in happiness.

A little later he composed his first *ghazal*, or ode, and this began—

" I have found no faithful friend in the world but my soul ;  
Except my own heart I have no trusty confidant."

There were five more couplets, and one would be glad to have them. These opening lines strike a higher note than the quotations in Abu-l-fazl ; they testify to a manly heart, and show that Bábar had "in his grief a strength reserved." He still, however, suffered much from depression. "I had no country," he says, "nor hopes of a country. Most of my servants had left me, from absolute want, and the few who still remained with me were unable to accompany me on my journeys from sheer poverty." He now thought of going to China. From his infancy he had desired to go there, but had not been able to gratify the wish on account of his being a king and of his duty to his relatives. Now, he says, that his kingship was gone, and his mother was safe with her mother and younger brother, there was no longer any obstacle to the journey. In order to execute it, he thought he would first go to Mogulistan, and then he would be free to do what he liked. So he asked his uncle's permission to go there and visit a younger uncle, Ahmed Khān. But, just as he was setting out, news came that the younger uncle was coming to Tashkend, to stir up his elder brother to oppose the Uzbeks. The two brothers had not seen one another for a quarter of a century, and Bábar had never seen his younger uncle at all. The arrival of the "Little Khān," then, as he was called, was a great event, and the meetings were attended by curious Mogul ceremonies of which Bábar gives a humorous account.

The brothers now united their forces and proceeded against

Tanbal who was holding Farghāna, nominally at least, for Bábar's brother, Jehāngīr. They had 30,000 cavalry with them, and from them they detached a force which was sent under Bábar to cross the Khojand river and take Tanbal in the rear. He was successful at first, for the people of Farghāna were attached to him, but unfortunately he allowed himself to be surprised by Tanbal, and had a narrow escape. He was wounded in the thigh by an arrow which passed through and through, and Tanbal nearly killed him by a sword blow on his head. Luckily his steel cap saved him. Bábar ruefully tells us, (p. 180,) that Tanbal's sword was one which had been made in Samarkand for the unfortunate foster-brother who fell over a precipice, and which Bábar took from him and sent to Tanbal a year before as a present. The Khāns had now crossed the Khojand river and proceeded to besiege Andijān. Bábar then went to the northern part of the territory, to Akhsi, and this led to a remarkable series of adventures, which have been most picturesquely described by him. The tale, however, is too long to be inserted here.

I shall only add that Bábar's difficulties were not removed by his rejoining his uncles. A new enemy appeared in the field, and one who overwhelmed both of the contending parties. This was Shaibānī. The two Khāns had been his benefactors in old days, but he now turned against them. He encountered them near Akhri, some time in 1502, and totally defeated them. Both the Khāns were made prisoners, and Bábar had to fly to the hills south of Farghāna. Bábar does not give any account of these events, and his only allusion to them is in the beginning of his Memoirs, where he says that, after Shaibānī defeated the Khāns and took Tashkand and Shahrokhia, he (Bábar) spent nearly a year in great distress among the hills in Súkh and Hushiar.\* (Leyden's trs. 4.) There is an account of them in the *Tarikh-i-rashidī*, (Ross's trs. 199,) where we are told that Shaibānī treated the Khāns kindly. The defeat, however, broke the younger Khān's heart, and he died in the following year. The elder brother, Mahmud, lived five years longer and then was foolish enough to put himself once more into Shaibānī's power, with the result that he and his five sons were all

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\* We learn from the *Tarikh-i Rashidī*, p. 198, that Mīzā Khān, afterwards ruler of Badakhshān, was Bábar's companion there, and was like a son to him. Bábar always remembered these times, and the men who had stuck to him then. In 1528, when he held a Durbar in Agra, he records that—"To the men who had come from Andijān, who, without a country, without a home, had roamed with me in my wanderings in Súkh and Hushiar and many lands, to all my retainers and tried men, I gave vests and rich dresses of honour with gold and silver clothes, and other articles of value."

put to death at Khojend. Tanbal, the opponent of Bábar and the Khāns, did not long survive their defeat. He had at first called in Shaibānī to his aid, but the latter turned his arms against Tanbal as soon as he had subdued the Khāns, defeated him, and put him and his brother Bajazet to death sometime in 1503 (Tarīkhī Rashīdī 130). We now come to a turning point in Babar's career. Hitherto he had been fighting desperately to maintain himself in his paternal kingdom. He now bade it adieu for ever. Farghāna was but a small country, and situated, in Bábar's time, "on the extreme boundary of the habitable world." It is, in fact, as Schuyler tells us, the almond-shaped valley of the Syr Daria or Jaxartes, and is surrounded on three sides by mountains. The valley is fertile, and in Bábar's time abounded in grain and fruits. He tells us that its revenues were sufficient to maintain three or four thousand men. Bábar always cherished a lively affection for Farghāna and the surrounding countries, and only a year before his death do we find him once more hopeful of regaining the ground he had lost in Central Asia. Writing to an old friend at this time, he says: "They very recently brought me a single musk melon. While cutting it up I felt myself affected with a strong feeling of loneliness, a sense of exile from my native country, and I could not help shedding tears while I was eating it." Like all Orientals, he was extremely fond of fruit, and we find him vaunting those of his native land. "There is a species of melon," he says, "at Akhsi which is superior to all others in the world. The melons of Bokhara are also celebrated; but, at the time I took Samarkand, I had melons brought from Akhsi and Bokhara, and cut open at an entertainment, when those of Akhsi were judged, beyond comparison, the best." On leaving Farghāna, Bábar directed his steps southwards, and never did he come so far north\* again. His intention was to go to Khurāsān, where Sultān Husain Mirzā, another descendant of Timur, was reigning in great splendour. But he had also hopes of being able to effect something in the territories of Khusru Shāh.

This Khusru was a Turkish adventurer from Dasht Kipchák who had risen to great power, partly by his abilities and partly by his unscrupulousness. It was a remark of D'Alembert, says Mill, that in certain governments only two animals find their way to the highest places, the eagle and the serpent. Khusru was an instance of the latter mode of progress. His character has been drawn by both Bábar and Haidar Mirzā, and there seems no reason to suppose they have done him injustice. In his early years he played the part of Sporus, and in after life

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\* The farthest north that he ever afterwards reached was Ghazdiwan, where he was in November 1512.

he was a mean-spirited tyrant. He had accompanied Sultān Mahmud, Bábar's paternal uncle, on the disastrous expedition against the Turkomans of the White Sheep in which Sultān Mahmud's father, Abu Sa'id, lost his life. During the retreat he did such good service to Sultān Mahmud that he became his chief favourite, and was eventually his Prime Minister. When, however, Sultān Mahmud died, he seized on his treasure, and attempted to usurp the supreme power. But the people of Samarkand rose against him and drove him out. He then went to Hissar-i-Shádmán, and in course of time acquired a great dominion. The baseness of his character came out in his treatment of his benefactor, Sultān Mahmud's family, for he blinded the eldest son, Sultān Masaud, and then caused another son, Baisanghar Mīrzā, to be strangled.

He was pious after the fashion of the times, that is, he was regular in his prayers and abstained from forbidden foods, and he studied popularity by liberality to his servants, and by extensive distributions of victuals to the poor. He was, also, unlike most of the barbarians of Central Asia, a good financier, and studied the all-important matter of the collection of revenue. In fact, his characteristics seem to have been more those of a Hindu than of a Turk. In more settled times, his industry and administrative ability might have made him as great as Aurangzeb or Todar Mall, but in the wild\* days in which his lot was cast, courage was a prime necessity, and in this he seems to have been wanting. Bábar characteristically says of him that he had not the spirit to face a barn-door chicken, and Mirza Haidar tells us that Shaibānī looked upon Khusru as a man whom he could frighten out of his dominions with a wave of his hand, "like a fly from a dish."

It has been conjectured that Bábar behaved ungratefully to Khusru, and intrigued against him while enjoying his hospitality. But there does not appear to be ground for this view. No doubt Bábar leagued himself with Bāqī Cheghāniānī Khusru's younger brother, and set himself to reduce his troops; but it does not appear that Bábar was under any obligation to Khusru. The latter showed him no kindness, and apparently it was only from want of power or courage that he did not expel him. Like Kirke of Tangiers, he pandered to his soldiers' vices, and allowed them unlimited license of rapine; but he was incapable of leading them, or of commanding their respect. The "ignoble levity," to use a phrase of Macaulay's about Charles II, which he displayed when a complaint of violence was brought before him, shows what sort of man

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\* As Erskine well says, Hist. I. 520: "In that age of confusion, to be able to reign it was necessary to be a soldier."

he was. When a man complained to Khusru that one of his retainers had carried off his wife, all the answer he got was : "You have had her for a great many years, it is certainly but fair that he should have her for a few days." The revolution by which the penniless adventurer, Bábar, succeeded, in the short space of two and a half months, in ousting Khusru and in taking over his whole army, was, indeed, a surprising one, and astonished Bábar himself. He regarded it as a special interposition of Providence, and exclaims :—

"Say, O my Lord! Thou art the King of Kings! Thou givest empires unto whom Thou pleasest; increasest whom thou pleasest, and reducest whom thou pleasest. Beneficence is in Thy hand: for, verily, Thou art powerful over all things (Koran). The Lord is wonderful in His might: A man who was master of 20 or 30,000 retainers, and who possessed the whole tract of country formerly subject to Sultan Mahomed Mirsa, extending from the Iron Gate as far as the Hindu Kush, and one of whose taxgatherers had conducted me in the surliest manner, from Ilak to Ubāj, giving me orders how far I was to march, and where I was to encamp, that this very person, in the space of half a day, without battle without contest, should be reduced to appear in such a state of distress and wretchedness before a needy fugitive like me, who had only 200 or 250 tattered demalions, all in the greatest want; that he should no longer have any power over his own servants, or over his wealth, or over his life, was a wonderful dispensation of the Omnipotent."

This, however, is but pious rhetoric, and a sort of aside to Nemesis; for the secondary, or, rather, the mundane causes, were numerous and powerful. Not the least of them was Bábar's own personality. When we consider what he was, and what his opponent was, the *debâcle* is sufficiently intelligible. On the one side was Bábar, in the flower of youth, and the scion of great kings, at once grandson of Yunas Khān, the beloved ruler of the Moguls, and of Abu Sa'id, the descendant of Timur and a famous leader of men, and, on the other, was the old and decrepit upstart, Khusru, with no royal blood in his veins, and sinking under a load of infamy. What wonder that this Perseus, issuing from the mountains to deliver the land from a monster, achieved a rapid success, Not, indeed, that it was quite so sudden as Bábar depicts it in the above extract. It was not in half a day, but after two and a half months' stay in the country, that he succeeded in winning over the army. And his intrigues with the Moguls began before he left Farghāna. Then, too, he had the powerful support of Baqi Cheghānī, Khusru's younger brother.

The truth is that Khusru's barbarity to his master's children was too bad even for that age. He had become an object of universal execration, and the revolution which overturned him may be called the revolution of abhorrence and disgust. His troops can hardly be blamed for leaving him, especially when



he was showing his incompetence to lead them, and was flying before the Usbegs. What strikes us most in the affair is the great help that Bábar got from those Moguls on whom he is ever lavishing abuse. Had they not joined his standard, he never would have conquered Kabul, and consequently he would never have been Emperor of Hindustan. It was the fickleness with which he reproaches them that enabled him to become what he was, and it hardly lies in his mouth to denounce them. He quotes a poem which says—

If the Mogul race were a race of angels, it  
is a bad race ;  
And were the name Mogul written in gold,  
it would be odious.  
Take care not to pluck one ear of corn from a  
Mogul's harvest ;  
The Mogul seed is such that whatever is sowed  
with it is execrable.

Bábar, however, managed to get a very fair harvest out of them.

Having won over the Moguls, Bábar marched on with them against Kābul. He crossed the Hindu Kush in the night, and, on his coming to the top of the Hupian Pass, a new star swam into his ken. This was Canopus, which he, a Northerner, had never seen before. "On reaching the top of a hill," he says, "Soheil (Canopus) appeared below, bright to the south, I said, 'this cannot be Soheil.' They answered. 'It is, indeed, Soheil.'" And then his companion, Baqi, appositely quoted a couplet of Persian poetry about the good fortune of meeting with this star :

"O Soheil, how far dost thou shine, and whence dost thou rise ?  
Thine eye is an omen of good fortune to him on whom it falls."

The city of Kābul was then held by a usurper named Mohim\* who had dispossessed Bábar's cousin, Abdu-r-rizāq. He could not make head against Bábar and surrendered the city to him. This event, the first of Bábar's permanent successes, occurred in the beginning of October, 1504.

At this part of his Memoirs Bábar breaks off from his narrative to give a long and interesting account of Afghanistan and its productions. The remainder of the chapter gives an account of sundry campaigns in Afghanistan and the borders of India, and is not of much value. In the following year he lost his mother, which must have been a great blow to him. He was a good son, and she a devoted mother, who accompani-

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\* He was the son of Zū-l-nūn Arghūn ; but he married a daughter of Ulugh Beg, Bábar's uncle, and former lord of Kandahar, so that he had more title to the province than Bábar Kandahār.

ed him in his wanderings and shared his privations. The month after her death, there was an earthquake which did much damage in Afghanistan, and was felt in India also. Though Bábar was now on the high road to India and his fortune, if he had known it was calling him thither, the lure of regaining a footing in Central Asia was still too strong for him, and we find him setting out for Herat in May, 1506. His ministers were against the expedition, and the result showed that they were right. He got no good out of Persia, and, in returning, he nearly lost his life in the snows, and arrived at Kābul only just in time to quell a formidable insurrection.

It would have been well if this had been all the evil his expedition brought him. But we learn from his own confession that in Herat he first learned to drink. Hitherto, he tells us, he had never tasted wine.

"In my boyhood I had no wish for it, and did not know its pleasures or pains. When my father at any time asked me to drink wine, I excused myself and abstained. After my father's death, by the guardian care of Khwāja Qazī, I remained pure and undefiled. I abstained even from forbidden foods; how, then, was I likely to indulge in wine?"

Evidently his father's sudden death and his becoming a king while still a boy, had a profound effect on his sensitive temperament, and made him contemplate himself as if, in Wordsworth's phrase, he were a dedicated spirit. And, though it cannot be said of him, any more than of other men or women, that he always held that height, or kept his spirit wholly true to the ideal which he bore, yet one sees that, in spite of weakness and waverings, Bábar ever had before him a high conception of kingly duties. Speaking of the period shortly after his father's death, he says:—

"I began to abstain from forbidden or dubious meats, and extended my caution to the knife, the spoon, and the table-cloth; I also seldom omitted my midnight prayers."

These good influences prevailed with him for many years, and it was not till he was about five and twenty that he began to drink, nor was it, apparently, till several years later that he drank to excess. He continued the habit for about twenty years, and then made a solemn renunciation of wine, and induced three hundred of his courtiers to follow his example. This reformation, which was ratified by a formal document, drawn up by his Secretary and published throughout his dominions, was partly the effect of former good resolutions, such as that he would give up wine at the age of forty, and partly the result of religious fervour. He was then engaged in a Holy War against the Hindus, and felt bound to become a good Musalman. He acted on this occasion with

his usual impulsiveness and energy. All his gold and silver drinking vessels were gathered together and broken up, and the fragments distributed to dervishes and to the poor. The choice wine, too, which had lately been brought from Kābul to Agra on three strings (*i.e.* 15) of camels, was poured upon the ground, or made into vinegar. Finally, in order to perpetuate the memory of the sacrifice, and to substitute a purer liquid for what had been destroyed, a large public well and an alms-house were constructed on the spot where the wine had been poured out. As far as appears, Bábar adhered to his vow, though he confesses that it cost him tears to give up wine and social parties.

Bábar, it may be remarked, is chary of telling us the exact occasion on which he fell away from the true faith and became a winebibber. All he tells us is that in Herat he resolved to drink wine. To this he was led partly by a secret hankering after a forbidden pleasure, and partly because he had come to a refined city, such as Herat then was, in which all the incentives and apparatus of enjoyment were combined with an invitation to indulgence. "If I did not seize the present moment," he quaintly says, "I never could expect such another." But, though he began to drink at Herat, it does not appear that he drank then to excess, or that he did so till several years afterwards. A drunkard could not have stood the terrible winter march across the Koh-i-Baba mountains to Kābul; and, for some time after his return there, he was too actively employed to have time for pleasure. He left Herat on Christmas Eve, 1506, and seems to have reached Kābul in the course of the following month. The Hijra year, 913, (May, 1507—May 1508,) was marked by marauding expeditions against the Afghans; by the conquest of Qandahār, and by the birth of his eldest son, Humāyūn. After this last event, which occurred on 6th March, 1508, Bábar assumed the title of Bādshāh, or King. A month or two afterwards, he was in imminent peril of his life. Khusru Shāh's Moguls formed a plot against him, and he narrowly escaped assassination at their hands. In consequence of their defection, he was left in his camp near Kābul with only four hundred men. However, he rose to the occasion, attacked Abdu-r-rizāq, his cousin, whom the Moguls had set up as King, and succeeded in defeating him. It is said that in one of the engagements, he personally encountered five champions of the enemy, and either slew or put them to flight, one after the other. Their names are given, so that it would seem that there is some truth in the story. Unfortunately Bábar's Memoirs break off in the beginning of the account of the insurrection. They tell us of the plot, of the desertion of his followers, of his at once proceeding, though

it was night, towards the revolted city, and then leave him outside the gate. Probably, as Erskine suggests, he was warned by the men, who just then came out from the market-place, and turned back in time. He had no troops with him, and, had he entered, he probably would have been either captured or killed. The break in the Memoirs is a long one; for it extends through eleven years from 1508, to January, 1519. It is singular that Bábar should have left no record of his brilliant exploits in the war against Abdu-r-razáq. His reticence about the latter part of the period is more intelligible, for in it occurred his final and unsuccessful attempt to establish himself in Central Asia. In that campaign he sustained two great defeats, and also degraded himself in the eyes of his countrymen by association with the heretical Shias of Persia.

Possibly, after quelling the insurrection, he felt the need of repose, and indulged too much in pleasure parties to leave time for writing memoirs. Apparently the two years that followed were the most tranquil and the happiest that he ever enjoyed. Kābul was Bábar's Capua, just as it was that of our soldiers before the first Afghan War, though, perhaps, it no more damaged him than did Capua injure the Carthaginians. We have in the *Tārīkh-i-Rashídī* two accounts of Bábar at this time. One is by Sa'id Khān, the son of the younger Khān (Sultān Ahmad), and the other by Mīrzā Haidar himself. Sa'id Khān, who was then a young man of two and twenty, and thus about four years younger than Bábar, came to Kābul from Badakhshān in November, 1508, and staid there with his cousin till December, 1510. He described \* Bábar to Haidar as the most charming of hosts, and said that the days he spent in Kābul were the happiest of his life. All the toils of sovereignty were Bábar's, and all its pleasures were Sa'id Khān's. Hence his days were a constant round of pleasure, and he never had a headache or heartache save from the fumes of wine or the ringlets of the fair sex. *Dard siri nabud magar az khamār, ū hech parishāni nabud magar az zulf sār.*<sup>o</sup> Haidar Mīrzā arrived in Kābul in October, 1509, that is, about a year after Sa'id Khān; and he stayed with Bábar for about four years. Haidar was then a boy of nine years of age, and his account of how his cousin received him and watched over his welfare during his stay with him, is very charming, and exhibits Bábar in the most amiable light. The boy arrived in a miserable plight; he was an orphan, and destitute. As soon as he reached Kābul, his (and Bábar's) maternal uncle Shīram Taghāi came out to welcome him, and took him to his own house. Bábar

<sup>o</sup> Tar. Rash. Ross's translation, 226. The original is a good deal curtailed in the translation, and some verses on love are omitted.

did not at once receive him, for, with a touch of superstition, which was probably more for the boy's sake than his own, he sent him word that the auspicious hour for his reception would not occur for three days. "When it came," says Haidar, "the moon of my ascendant and the sun of my felicity emerged from eclipse, and ascended to the mansions of exaltation. When I approached, the auspicious glance of the King lighted on me, and the tears of bounty fell from his eyes like strung pearls. With infinite love and affection he extended the hand of favour to me. I fell on my knees before him, and he clasped me to the bosom of love, and of fatherly affection. He held me there for a while, and then seated me by his side." He then condoled with him on the martyrdoms of his father and his other relatives, and cried: "God be praised, you have come back to me in safety. Be not too sad at their departure; for I will take their place, and emulate them in love and affection towards you."

It is a delightful trait in Bábar's character that he did not forget on this occasion the faithful servant, Moulavi Muhammad Sadr, who had been the means of preserving the boy's life. He sent for him, thanked him warmly, and bestowed gifts on him. Then he sent the boy off to pay his respects to his other cousin, Sa'id Khān. Having done so, he returned to the King, and sat with him for a time, and then, on leaving his presence, he found an officer waiting, who said he was majordomo of the mansion that had been assigned to Haidar for a residence. On going with him, he found a splendid house prepared for him, with servants of all sorts in attendance. "The tongue of the sugar-chewing (*skakar-khai*) parrot were needed to return adequate thanks (*shukr*) for it. May God reward him with good." Nor was he merely indulgent to the boy. He also watched over his education, "and ever, with kindness and courtesy, by the promise of favour, or the threat of some privation, incited me to the acquisition of knowledge and virtue, and if he saw in me, at any time, some little thing that was commendable, he praised it heartily, and showed it off to every one, inviting commendation" (Erskine's translation). "I was never away from him," says Haidar, "except when I was at my lessons, and as as soon as they were over, he would send for me." This praise is all the more honourable both to Haidar and Bábar, from the fact that the former must have known that Bábar had expressed himself as rather disappointed with Haidar's development. The cousins separated in 1512, and never met again. Haidar was attracted away to his cousin Sa'id Khān, in Farghāna, whose sister he afterwards married, and left Bábar. Very probably Bábar's growing intimacy with the Shias had scandalised Haidar, who was a somewhat rigid Mahomedan.

He may also have been unwilling to fight against his brother-in-law, Ubaidulla. He himself came to regret the separation, and it is evident that Bábar's affectionate nature was wounded by it. In his Memoirs he thus writes of Haidar: "Haidar Mirza, after his father was slain by the Uzbeks, entered my service, and remained in it for three or four years; he then took leave of me and went to Kashgar (it should be Farghána), to the Khan; but, as

Everything returns to its original principles,  
Whether pure gold, or silver, or tin;

it is said that he has now adopted a commendable course of life and become reformed. He excels in horsemanship, in painting, in fletchery; in making arrow-heads and thumblets for drawing the bow-string. He is remarkably neat at all kinds of handiwork. He has also a turn for poetry, and I have received an epistle from him the style of which is by no means bad." The above is Leyden's translation. P. de Courteille's, which is from the Turki original, is somewhat different, and probably more correct. The verse as there quoted, I. 22, is a sarcasm implying apparently that Haidar had returned to the evil ways of his father, for whom Bábar had a well-founded contempt. With reference to the descriptions of Bábar by Sa'id Khān and Haidar Mīrzā, Erskine justly remarks: "These two portraits, different as they are, need no comment; they present the character of the young Emperor, still only twenty-six years of age, in the most amiable light, and prove how free he, and some at least of the fugitive princes who filled his court, were from the jealousies and fears that infest Asiatic palaces. Nor should it be forgotten that the youth and the boy whom he thus patronised and cherished, became two of the ablest and most accomplished men and princes of their age."

In December, 1510, Bábar heard of the defeat and death of his old enemy, Shaibānī Khān. Though it was the depth of winter, he immediately set out for the North, and arrived at Kunduz early in January. It is characteristic of Bábar's kindly thoughtfulness that he wished to spare his young cousin, Haidar, then a boy of ten or eleven, the fatigues and hardships of a winter campaign, and proposed that he should remain in Kābul. "The difficulty of the road and the coldness of the air are extreme," he said, "you had better stop in Kābul this winter. When spring comes, and the air is cleared of the bitter cold, you can come to me." But Haidar begged so hard to be allowed to accompany him that he was permitted to do so. The thoughtfulness of Bábar is all the more striking from the fact, mentioned by his daughter Gulbadan, that he took his own children with him, *viz.*, Humāyūn, Mihrjān, Bárbul, Māsūma and Kāmran. 11,480.

At Kunduz Bábar had the pleasure of meeting his sister, Khánzāda Begam, after a separation of ten years. She was found in Merv by Shāh Ismail of Persia, and sent on with her son to Bábar. This was, perhaps, the solitary advantage Bábar reaped from his expedition. His present campaign in Central Asia was as unfortunate as the preceding ones had been. After gaining some successes and taking Samarkand, he sustained two great defeats. The first was at Lake Malik, where he was defeated in the spring of 1512, by Ubaidullah, the nephew of Shaibānī and brother-in-law of Haidar Mīrzā. The second was at Ghajdivan, N. of Bokhara, and took place apparently in the following winter.

Haidar Mīrzā did not at all sympathise with Bábar on this occasion. All his sympathies were with his brother-in-law, Ubaidullah, who was in command here also, and he exulted in the defeat of Bábar's heretical allies, the Persians. Their General, Najim Sāni, had shortly before perpetrated a cruel massacre at Karshi, where 15,000 soldiers and inhabitants are said to have been put to death. Among them was the poet, Mulla Binai, who was a favourite with Bábar. It is said that Bábar vainly remonstrated against the massacre, and that he showed his disgust by abandoning his allies at the battle of Ghajdivan. Badāonī also tells us (*Bib. Ind.*, ed I., p. 444,) that, on the previous day, Bábar shot an arrow into the town on which was a Persian couplet expressive of his hatred for Najim Sāni. This is quoted by Erskine in a note to his History, (I. 326,) but the story is of doubtful authenticity. To be true, the arrow should have been sent into Ghajdivan; but Badāonī gives the locality as Naksheb, or Kesh, which is mentioned by Bábar as belonging to the province of Karshi. Nor would we willingly believe that Bábar could be guilty of treachery. There is no doubt, however, that the Persians believed that Bábar had deserted them, and that Tahmasp, the King of Persia, was afterwards invited by his brother to retaliate by abandoning Humāyūn. Haidar Mīrzā does not mention the story of the desertion; nor does he support Professor Vambéry's view\* that Bábar did not advance as far Bokhara, or Ghajdivan. On the contrary, he speaks of Bábar taking part in the siege, though he does not clearly state whether he was present at the battle. Mīrzā Iskandar, the Persian historian, also, represents Bábar as being at Ghajdivan, though he says he withdrew to one side during the engagement. Haidar Mīrzā's description of the battle is a choice piece of poetic bigotry. "The talons of Islam," he says, "pierced the hands of heresy and infidelity; the glorious standards of Islam were unfurled; the victorious breezes of shining Islam overthrew the followers of innovations, and the sword gashes of Karshi†

\* History of Bokhara, 276.

† Apparently there is a pun here, Karshi, meaning a cut in Arabic.

were bound up by the arrow stitches of vengeance. Mir Najim and all his damned Turkomans were sent to hell, and the King (Bábar) arrived, broken and discomfited, at Hissar." Bábar's troubles did not end with this defeat. At Hissar, the Moguls rebelled against him, and he had great difficulty in escaping from them, having to fly, naked, into the fort. From there he went to Kunduz, where he staid as long as he had any chance of recovering his ground. When all hope failed, and a famine had almost depopulated Hissar, he returned to Kabul. The time of his doing so does not appear to be known, but it was apparently either in 920 or 921 A. H. (1514 or 1515.) Nor have we details of what happened in the next three or four years. His brother, Nāsir Mirzā, died in 1515, a victim of drink; and the change of government (he was ruler of Ghazni) was followed by a rebellion. Apparently the only account that we have of this is a short notice in the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, (Ross, p. 356-57.) Bábar succeeded in quelling the revolt and then marched against Qandahār, the reduction of which occupied him for several years (till September, 1522).

With the spring of (925) 1519 Bábar resumes his *Memoirs*; but their charm is in a great measure gone. As Erskine justly remarks, "The narrative now partakes too much of the tedium of a journal in which important and unimportant events find an equal space." Such as it is, too, the narrative only lasts for about fourteen months, after which there is another break of six years. It might have been better for Bábar's fame if the journal of 925 had not been written, or not preserved, for it is in it that most of the references to his drinking bouts occur, and that the cruel massacre of the inhabitants of Bajaur is recorded. Bábar justifies the atrocity by saying that the men of Bajaur were infidels; but this is a poor defence for a man who, only a few years before, had, for political ends, leagued himself with schismatical Shias against orthodox Muhammadans. Unhappily Bábar, like Charles Fifth, seems to have grown bigoted in his later years. His journal contains many devotional entries,\* and in the same chapter we find him insulting the dead by pulling down the tomb of a kalandar whom he regarded as a heretic. I have no desire to excuse him. The massacre of Bajaur, the cold-blooded murders of prisoners, and the inhuman punishments which now appear in his *Memoirs*, are blots on his fame. We can only compare them with Charlemagne's beheading of 4,000 Saxons and Cromwell's doings at Drogheda. But I can

\* See one such touch in *Memoirs*, (Erskine, 400,) where Babar says:—"This day the words of the men of God produced some compunction in my heart." Unfortunately this was only in the year before his death.



defend him against some mistaken remarks of Lord Jeffrey and Professor Dowson. The following passage occurs in Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 226 :—

"Bábar appears to have been of a frank and generous character ; and there are throughout the Memoirs various traits of singular clemency and tenderness of heart for an Eastern monarch and professional warrior. He weeps ten whole days for the loss of a friend who fell over a precipice after one of their drinking parties,\* and spares the lives, and even restores the domains, of various chieftains who had betrayed his confidence and afterwards fallen into his power. Yet there are traces of Asiatic ferocity, and of a hard-hearted wastefulness of life, which remind us that we are beyond the pale of European gallantry and Christian† compassion. In his wars in Afghanistan and India, the prisoners are commonly batchered in cold blood after the action, and pretty uniformly a triumphal pyramid is erected for this infamous butchery, that the sovereign's tent had three times to be removed to a different station, the ground before it being so drenched with blood and encumbered with quivering carcasses !"

Professor Dowson has taken this passage, without acknowledgement, from Lord Jeffrey's *Essay on Leyden and Erskine's book in the Edinburgh Review*.‡ I have nothing to say against the first part of it ; but the tale about the shifting of the royal tent has nothing to do with Bábar, and the massacre in question did not occur in Afghanistan. The event which Lord Jeffrey had in his mind is recorded at p. 33 of the Memoirs (Leyden and Erskine, 1826). It occurred near Samarkand, in 1495, when Bábar was about twelve years old, and relates to his cousin, Baisanghar Mirza ! The passage is as follows :—

"A vast number of Moguls perished ; so many of them were beheaded in the presence of Baisanghar Mirza, that they were forced three several times to shift his pavilion, in consequence of the heaps of slain that lay before it.

In P. de Courteille's translation, l. 64, the number of shiftings of the pavilion is raised to four.

Some remarks of Elphinstone in connection with this subject may be quoted with advantage :—

"Babar's conduct in the places where he met with resistance was as inhuman as that of Tamerlane, who was naturally his model.§ The

\* Bábar was not of the party, and the accident occurred several years before Bábar began to touch wine. His grief was intensified by the suspicion that his friend had been murdered. See Erskine's *Memoirs* 101.

† But what of the Smerwick massacre, A. D. 1580 ?

‡ See Jeffrey's *Essays*, ed. 1853, p. 340.

§ It is curious to find an Englishman advocating the same model in the case of Ireland : "No governor shall do any good here writes an English observer (Andrew Trollope by name) in 1581, except he show himself a Tamerlane" (quoted by Dean Church in his essay on Spenser).

smallness of his force was some justification of the means he took to strike a terror; but the invariable practice of his country is the best palliation for him. His natural disposition was remarkably humane; and although we cannot help being shocked at these occurrences and at two or three cruel executions mentioned in his Memoirs, yet they prove no more against his personal character in this respect, than his slaughtering Gauls or crucifying pirates against Cæsar's clemency."

From 925-932—1519-25—, Bábar appears to have made five expeditions into India. Their chronology is uncertain, and we have details only of the fifth and last expedition. Abul Fazl differs apparently from all the other authorities in placing the first expedition to India as early as 910\* (1505). Bábar and his daughter, Gulbadan, as well as Ferishta and Kháfí Khān, make the first expedition that which took place in 925 (1519). According to Ferishta there were two in this year, a third in 926, a fourth in 930 and the fifth in 932. In the fourth Bábar advanced as far as Lahore and Dipalpur, and the chronogram which he gives for the latter event yields a date corresponding to about 22nd January, 1524. One thing that we learn from Gulbadan's Memoirs is that in 925, or 926, Bábar and his wife paid a visit to Badakhshān. Mīrzā Khān was the ruler of that country, and there is a strange uncertainty about the date of his death. Haidar Mīrzā and Abul Fazl give the impossible date of 917 (1511), and Mr. Elias has suggested that this is a clerical error for 927. This is likely enough, but unfortunately 927 appears to be a little late, and conflicts with another statement of Haidar Mīrzā, that, after Mīrzā Khān's death, Humāyūn was appointed, in 926, to be ruler of Badakhshān. Mīrzā Khān was a poor creature, it seems—*Mard ajiz*—, Haidar calls him, and must have slipped away from the world with very little notice. Gulbadan puts his death in 925, but she is not strong in dates, and if the death had occurred in this year, it would surely have been recorded in Bábar's Memoirs. There is mention of an embassy coming from Mīrzā Khān in that year, and we can hardly suppose that his name is a mistake for his widow's. Most probably the death occurred in 926, and after the second month of 926 (January 1520,) where the Memoirs end for a time. Possibly the necessity for going to Badakhshān stopped the journal for a while. Humāyūn, Gulbadan tells us, was at first sent down, and his father and mother went afterwards to see him. No doubt; they wished to see how their boy conducted himself in his government. Possibly Bábar brought back with him Sulaimān, the young son of Mīrzā Khān, though, according

\* Probably he does so from the difficulty of otherwise making up the number five. As Bábar went to Badakhshan in 926, he can hardly have made an expedition to India in that year.

to Princess Gulbadan, the child was brought to Kabul by his mother, at the time when the Badakhshān ambassadors arrived there. For some three years after 925, Bābar was engaged in the reduction of Qandahār. On 13 Shawwāl 928 (6 September,\* 1522,) he got possession of it from Shāh Beg, and bestowed it on his younger son, Kāmran. It is not clear why Bābar did not conquer India before 932 (1526). He was detained on one occasion by having to march north to protect Balkh from the Uzbeks (Memoirs 295). We do not, apparently, know the result of this expedition; but we find him sending, in November 1525, part of the revenues of Lahore to Balkh, to strengthen his interests there. We also find him speaking of Kunduz, to which Balkh belonged, as a country under his control.

Certainly he gained a footing in India in 930, which he never afterwards lost, and which, seemingly, he might have followed up earlier. Bābar seems first to have tried to get possession of India through Alam Khān Ludī,† otherwise Sultan Alauddin. This Alam Khān was the brother of Sikan-dar Ludī and uncle of Ibrāhīm, and, if Nizām-ud-din and his copyist, Ferishta be correct in stating that he was living at the time of Bahlul Ludī's accession to the throne (855 or 1451), he must have been an old man at the time of Bābar's invasion. Alam Khān assumed the title of Sultān Alau-d-din, which had also been borne by a son of Muhammad Shāh, and disputed the throne of Delhi with his nephew Ibrāhīm. Being unable to maintain his ground, he fled to Kābul. Bābar gave him a good reception, and then sent him to try his fortune again in Hindustan. Apparently he intended to have accompanied or followed him, but was prevented by the expedition to Balkh referred to above. Alam Khān went on alone, and marched to Lahore and Delhi. There he was defeated by Ibrāhīm, and had to take refuge again with Bābar, who by this time had entered India on his fifth and final expedition. Alam Khān, according to Bābar, now tendered him his allegiance, and appears to have fought under him against his nephew and also against Rānā Sangā. It would seem from a passage in the Akbar-nāma, (Bib. Ind. ed. I, 129), that Bābar afterwards grew suspicious of Alam Khān, and shut him up in Qila Zafar in Badakhshān. Abul Fazl adds that he escaped from there, and afterwards joined Bahādur Shāh, King of Gujrāt, and fought against Humāyūn. We also have an account in Bird's Gujrāt (pp. 260 and 261), of his being put to death in 1543 by Bahādur's

\* Darmesteter, *Journal Asiatique*, 1890, p. 210.

† Some details of the circumstances under which Bābar invaded India will be found in the histories of the Afghan dynasties abstracted in Elliot, Vol. V.

successor. It is possible, however, that Abul Fazl and others have confounded this Alam Khān with another Alam Khān, who was Ibrāhīm's nephew. (See Erskine's History of Humayun, p. 444).

We have not many details of Bábar's expedition into India, and it cannot be said that this part of the Memoirs is well written. Bábar is more solicitous to chronicle his drinking bouts than to describe the movements of his troops. There is one pleasing touch, however,—when he tells us how ashamed he felt of having composed a satirical couplet against one of his companions. My heart was struck with regret, he says, that a tongue which could repeat the sublimest productions, should bestow any trouble on such unworthy verses, and from that time forward I religiously abstained from satirical or vituperative poetry. Bábar set out from Kābul in the middle of November, 1525, and crossed the Indus a month later. He took advantage of the transit to have his followers counted, and then found that the whole number, both soldiers and civilians, amounted to twelve thousand men. His progress after that was slow, but apparently uniformly successful, and on 21st April, 1526, he defeated and killed Ibrāhīm Sultān, the King of Delhi. Bábar, naturally, is very proud of this achievement, and compares it with two previous conquests \* of India, and, as might be supposed, he represents his success as much the most marvellous. But, though he dilates on the largeness of Ibrāhīm's army, and on the number of his elephants, he hardly succeeds in showing that there was anything very wonderful in his victory. It had been often proved before that the Indians could not stand against the men of Central Asia. On the one side there was a tried hero with an army of veterans, and on the other a rash youth with a crowd of undisciplined levies. Bábar himself lets us into the secret of his success when he tells us that Ibrahim was "negligent in all his movements; he marched without order; retired or halted without plan, and engaged in battle without foresight." Ibrahim's only idea seems to have been to march straight against the enemy; so he led his troops at a rapid pace up to Bábar's entrenchments, and naturally they were shattered there. A remark which Bábar made to one of his officers before the battle shows his real opinion of Ibrāhīm's chances of success. He had for several days been entrenching himself with guns, trees, ditches, etc., and at last one of his officers said to him that he had fortified himself in such a way that Ibrāhīm would never venture to attack him. You judge him, replied Bábar, by the Khāns and Sultāns of the Uzbeks. When they saw our

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\* Bábar's invasion of India occurred about a year after Francis I's unsuccessful expedition into the European peninsula of Italy. The battle of Pavia was fought on 24th February 1525.

entrenchment at Hissar, they perceived that there was no hope of success, and retired. But you must not judge of our present enemies by those who were then opposed to us. They have not ability to discriminate when it is proper to advance, and when to retreat." And then he adds : " It happened as I foretold." Bábar's real greatness was shown, not on the field of Panipat, but when he withstood the pressure put upon him by his officers and friends to make him return from India. The hot weather of 1525 was very trying in Agra, and the disaffection of the traders and peasantry caused difficulties in the way of supplies. Most of Bábar's officers and men regarded India as a buccaneer looked on a galleon, to use Macaulay's phrase, and were eager to return to their native country, or to Kābul, as soon as they had made their pile. They even went so far as to make preparations for their return, and one of his oldest followers put up a verse in a house in Delhi, expressive of his detestation of India, and his determination to quit it. But Bábar stuck to his work and refused to budge. He called a meeting of his officers, and harangued them, telling them that he was resolved to remain, but that any one who was set upon returning might do so. It is this persistency and firmness which distinguish Bábar's career from that of mere destroyers like Chingiz Khān, Timur, and Nadir Shāh.

The best thing in the Indian portion of the Memoirs is the description of India and of its botany and zoology. This occupies about twenty pages of Erskine's translation, and to this should be added the table of revenues. This is not in the translation, but occurs in Erskine's History I., App. D, 541, and also in P. de Courteille. It is in Persian, which, as P. de Courteille remarks, proves its official origin. Bábar's description of India does much credit to his observation and industry, and we may say of it, as well as of the whole of his Indian Journal, that it might with advantage be published separately, with a commentary, identifying the places mentioned by Bábar, etc. At the same time it must be acknowledged that this portion of his book is the least genial part of it. The truth is, Bábar arrived in India too late in life to appreciate it or the Hindus; nor was he in a favourable position for observing the people. All his affections were with his native mountains, or perhaps still more with Kābul, and he was not in the humour to be pleased with the gorgeousness of India. Perhaps if he had seen Kashmīr, he would have expressed himself differently. The following is his judgment of India :—

" The country and towns of Hindustan are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have an uniform look; its gardens have no walls; the greater part of it is a level plain . . . " And then he goes on to complain that the rivers are difficult to cross on

account of their high banks, and that there is a great deal of thorny brushwood.

Further on he says : Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it.\* The people are not handsome ; they have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness of fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture ; they have no good houses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons†, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick ; and so on he goes for about half a page further.

He winds up by saying that the chief excellency of Hindustan is, that it is a large country and has abundance of gold and silver, and that the climate is very pleasant in the rainy season. This last remark, however, is qualified by comment on the injury done to furniture by the damp. The bow of our country, he says, becomes quite useless in the rains. He does not object to the heat, which he says is not half as great as that of Balkh and Qandahār. Finally, he praises India for its abundant supplies of work-people.

I think we may say of his description that, in its picturesqueness, and also in its perverse way of looking at things, it reminds us of the portraiture of Carlyle. Bábar can tell us all about the birds and beasts of India, and about the petty annoyances of life in it, but he has not a word for the wonder and the mystery of the land, or for the marvels which fired the imagination of Burke. He does not mention the rite of *Sati*, which might have been expected to impress him strongly ; and nearly all he tells us about the inhabitants of India is that most of them are pagans, and believe in the doctrine of transmigration. The difference of religion and the thought that Indians had tried to poison him seem to have shut out the country and its inhabitants from his sympathies. For his heart did not grow cold with advancing years. His affection for his family and friends, and his thoughtfulness for their comfort and well-being, are as conspicuous as ever. The two admirable letters to his son, Humāyūn, and to his old friend

\* It is proper to observe here that P. de Courteille's translation of the Turki is "quoique l'Hindustan soit un pays naturellement plein de charme, les habitants sont dépourvus de grâce."

† Apparently Bábar introduced both of these into India. According to Jehāngir, (Price's translation, 13,) Bábar also introduced the pineapple into the garden opposite Agra.

and servant, Khwāja Kilān prove this. One or two interesting traits of his character have been preserved by his daughter, Gulbadan. She tells us that Bābar sent for all his aunts and other female relatives, after he had conquered India, and assigned lands to them for their support. Ninety-six ladies came, and among them were seven aunts, *viz.*, daughters of Abū Sa'id. She gives the names of six of them, and says that her father used to pay his respects regularly every Friday during the four years he was in Agra. One day it was very hot, and his wife, Maham, remonstrated with him for going out in the heat, saying that he might let one week pass without visiting his aunts. But Bābar replied that the daughters of Abū Sa'id were without father or brother, and asked who would comfort them if he didn't. In the Memoirs we have two of these Friday visits recorded, (pp. 387 and 428). Elphinstone, remarking on Bābar's activity of body, observes that on the last journey he took, and after his health had begun to fail, he rode 160 miles in two days "without any particular motive for despatch." But he was then returning to his capital from an expedition to Bihār, and may we not assume that one motive for haste was a desire to keep up his rule of visiting his aunts every Friday? At all events he arrived at Agra on the Thursday at midnight, and paid his visit to his aunts next day. Another and probably more powerful inducement was the desire to get to Agra in time to welcome his favourite wife Māham (Humāyūn's mother), who was on her way from Kābul to join him. They met on the following Sunday at midnight. It was on this occasion that Babar got melons and grapes of his own growing. "I was truly delighted," he says, "with having produced such excellent melons and grapes in Hindustan." Bābar's health was bad for the last year or two of his life, and probably it was owing to this that he one day expressed a wish (according to Gulbadan) to make over his kingdom to Humāyūn, and to retire into a garden and become a darvesh. For the last fifteen months of his life we have no journal. The last entry is of 3 Muharram (936, 7 September, 1529,) and the stoppage in the very beginning of the Muhammadan year seems significant. It is pleasing to observe that the last entry recorded is one of an act of grace. One Rahim Dad had rebelled, and was pardoned at the intercession of the famous saint, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior.

Bābar's last days were embittered by troubles in Badakhshān. Humāyūn left that government suddenly, and without permission; and this must have deranged Bābar's plans, for he was contemplating the recovery of Samarkand, and the re-visiting of the scenes of his youth. But he was too much broken, and too fond of Humāyūn to be angry with him for

coming. It must, indeed, have been an immense pleasure to have the company of his favourite son. Humāyūn was volatile and fond of pleasure, and far inferior to his father, but he had gifts and graces, and the Stuart charm of manner. "I have seen few persons," says Haidar Mirzā, "possessed of so much natural talent and excellence as he," and his father described him as exceedingly good company. His arrival, too, was opportune, for Bābar was just then mourning over the death of the child of his old age, Alūr, the infant brother of Gulbadan. 1, 480.

Not long before his death, Bābar had an opportunity of showing that the old heroic spirit was still strong within him. It happened in this wise. Humāyūn, after spending some time with his parents, went off to his fief of Sambhal in Rohilkand. He was six months there enjoying himself, and then fell sick of a fever. Hearing of this, his father had him brought to Delhi, and from there by boat to Agra. But, in spite of the skill of the court physicians, the illness went on increasing, till Humāyūn grew so weak that his life was despaired of. One day, as Bābar was sitting by the Jamna with his councillors and discussing possible remedies, a theologian, who was of the company, quoted a saying of a wise man of old to the effect that, when doctors failed to cure, the only remedy was to sacrifice the sick man's most precious possession, and then implore recovery from God. At once Bābar cried out that Humāyūn's most precious possession was his father, and that that father would sacrifice himself for him. And might God accept him! Bābar's ministers and others entreated him to give up this idea. Humāyūn, they said, would, by God's favour, reach the ordained period of his life under his father's shadow. They urged also that the meaning of the old precept was that a man should part with and offer up in charity the most valuable worldly goods that he possessed. Such, they said, was the priceless diamond acquired in the war with Sultan Ibrahim, and presented by Bābar to Humayun. Babar, however, replied: "What is the worth of worldly goods and how can a stone be an equivalent for Humāyūn? I shall sacrifice myself for him, for he is in evil case, and though I have not the force (*lāqat*) to behold his feebleness (*betāqatī*), I have the strength to bear his pain." Starting up, therefore, he retired into his oratory, and engaged in private prayer, then, coming out, he walked thrice round his son's bed. Then, becoming conscious, it is said, of having received Humāyūn's illness into his own body, he cried out "*Bardashtīn, bardashtīn*," (We have taken it, we have taken it). We are told that from that moment, Humāyūn grew better, while his father's health declined, day by day, till he died. This event occurred on the 25th or



26th December, 1538 and as he was born in February, 1483, he was then in his forty-eighth year. By his own desire, • he was buried in Kābul, in a beautiful spot near the city, which is known as Bābar's Hill. †

H. BEVERIDGE.

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\* The statement that he was buried at Kābul by his own desire, is found in Firishta and is probably correct. He had, in his early days, bought a garden there, that he might bury his dead out of his sight, and had there laid his mother's remains. But it also appears from Gulbadan's Memoirs and from Jauhar, that his body lay buried in India for some years. We learn from Jauhar that it was owing to the piety of one of Bābar's widows, Bika Begum, that his bones were removed to Kābul.

† The inscription on the tomb has been published by M. Darmesteter, *Jour. Asiatique*, 1888, p. 494.

## ART. II.—CHRONICLES OF THE HUTWA RAJ.

AS will appear from the genealogical tree hereto annexed, the Hutwa Raj family is one of the oldest of the aristocratic houses of Behar, and traces its lineage to a very remote antiquity. The late Maharaja, Sir Krishna Pratap Sahi Bahadur, K. C. I. E., counted a hundred and one princes as having preceded him on the *guddi*, the founder of the family having been Raja Bir Sein, who, taking the *regime* of each scion of the family to have lasted for an average period of at least twenty-five years, must have flourished sometime during the sixth or seventh century before the Christian Era.

It would appear from the genealogical tree above referred to that the patronymic of the first fifteen princes of the dynasty was "Sein;" but Raja Jaggat, who was sixteenth in order of descent, changed it and assumed the patronymic of "Singh," which continued to be used by his successors down to the 82nd degree. Raja Jayamall, however, the 83rd in order of descent, changed the title of "Singh," and assumed that of "Mall," which was also used as a patronymic by his three immediate successors, Rajas Pratab Mall, Gulab Mall and Maharaja Kalyan Mall. The title of "Sahi," which is the patronymic now in use in this family, came into vogue during the time of Maharaja Khem Karan Sahi Bahadur, who was 87th in the order of descent. The earlier scions of the family, down to the 85th remove, employed the title of Raja simply; the title of Maharaja appears to have been conferred on the 86th prince, Kalyan Mall, and that of Maharaja Bahadur on the 87th prince, Khem Karan Sahi, by the Emperor of Dehli.

The members of the Hutwa family are Bagachhia Brahmans, a caste to which the Maharajas of Benares, Bettiah and Tikari, as also the scions of the other aristocratic houses of Behar, belong. Under the *kulachâr*, or rule of inheritance, prevalent in the family, the Raj, as an impartible estate, usually descends, with its incident titles and honours, to the eldest son, to the exclusion of the younger sons, who are styled Babus and are allowed, for their maintenance, a Babuana allowance, either in cash or in landed property, which, however, in the event of their dying without issue, reverts to the *corpus* of the parent estate. This rule of inheritance, which has prevailed in the family from before the time of Maharaja Fateh Sahi, received additional authoritative force from the decision of the Privy Council in what is known as the great Hutwa Raj case.

Nothing is known about the lives and times of the earlier princes of this dynasty. But certain traditions are extant regarding Maharaja Jubraj Sahi Bahadur, who was ninety-fifth in order of descent, and who is said to have flourished in the time of Akbar. His was a troublous reign, for he had to cope with a formidable antagonist, in the person of a neighbouring chief, Raja Kabul Muhammad, of Barharia. This Mahomedan nobleman, who, in contravention of the Imperial authority, had set himself up as a semi-independent chief in South Behar, had been constantly encroaching upon the dominions of Maharaja Jubraj Sahi. The latter made war on him, but was worsted in several engagements. Tradition says that, while he was retreating with a handful of followers through a jungle, after being defeated for the last time by the Mahomedan chief, the goddess Bhawani appeared to him in a dream and unfolded to him a tale of the woe and misery which she had suffered during the *regime* of the Mahomedans. She encouraged the Maharaja to persist in his attempts to stem the tide of invasion, promised to assist him in his endeavours, and told him of an omen which would betoken the success or otherwise of his enterprise. "The moment you start on your journey," she said, "you will see a jackal and a snake. Salute the former and kill the latter." When about to start on a fresh expedition against the Mahomedan chief, the Maharaja saw a jackal and a snake, whereupon he worshipped the former and killed the latter. In the ensuing battle, which was fought at a place called Ramchandrapur, and situated a mile to the east of Thaway, the country seat of H. H. the late Maharaja Bahadur, Maharaja Jubraj Sahi succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on Kabul Mahommed, who was killed during the engagement. The result of this victory was that Pargana Sipah passed into the hands of Maharaja Jubraj Sahi, whose descendants are still in possession of it.

The next chief of whom we have any account is Maharaja Sardar Sahi, who was 98th in order of descent. Popular tradition says that he led an expedition against the Raja of Majhauli, in the Gorakhpur District, and, having taken the fortress of that chief by storm, had it razed to the ground. But he followed up this victory by patching up a peace with the defeated Raja, on the latter's undertaking not to display his insignia of royalty, *vis.*, the banner and the drum, till he should succeed in retaking them from the Hosseypur (Hutwa) Rajas in battle.

Maharaja Sardar Sahi had two sons, *vis.*, Sarabdann Sahi and Fateh Sahi. The eldest, Sarabdann Sahi, having predeceased his father, the younger son, Fateh Sahi, succeeded Maharaja Sardar Sahi on the *guddi*. It is, however, only from the time

of Maharaja Fateh Sahi Bahadur, who flourished about the latter half of the last century, that we have any authentic account of the Hosseypur, or Hutwa Raj.

After the Emperor of Delhi had conferred on the East India Company the Dewany of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, Maharaja Fateh Sahi refused to acknowledge the Company's right to demand and collect the revenue, and engaged in open hostilities against it. In 1767, when the Revenue Collector of Saran demanded from him the revenue due from him, Fateh Sahi refused to pay the same, and resisted the Company's troops who had been sent against him in consequence. But, at last, being hard pressed by the Company's forces, he retreated into the jungle which existed at that time on the border-land between Gorakhpur, then part and parcel of the dominions of the Vizier of Oudh, and the province of Behar. He now began to lead a predatory life, and, sallying out of his retreat in the jungle, raided the adjoining district, whenever an opportunity presented itself, harassed the Company's troops stationed in that quarter and harried the villages.

On account of the depredations committed by him, the work of collecting the revenue was much interrupted. In the meantime, the Hosseypur Raj had been farmed out to one Govindram, whom he put to death in the course of a foray which he made into the district in 1772. The Collector of Sircar Saran, seeing that the revenue could not be collected regularly so long as Fateh Sahi continued his depredations, recommended the Provincial Council of Patna that the rebel chief should be persuaded to submit to the Company on the promise of an allowance being granted to him by the latter. Fateh Sahi came to Patna, however, and stoutly denied having had any hand in the affair which had resulted in the death of Govindram, and the Government, believing his statements, not only pardoned him, but fixed an allowance for his maintenance, whereupon he promised to remain quietly with his family at Hosseypur.

After his pardon and return to Hosseypur, the Company's Government, which had kept the Hosseypur Estate under *seer tahsil* for a term of one year, farmed out the estate, on the strength of Raja Cheyt Singh of Benares having stood security for the regular payment of revenue by him, to Babu Basant Sahi, a cousin of the rebellious chief, Fateh Sahi, in recognition of the loyal services rendered to it by the latter in having assisted it with his retainers and done all in his power to arrest that rebel chief.

But Fateh Sahi's bellicose spirit, which had lain dormant within him for a short time, burst forth afresh, and, after leading a quiet life for two months, he again retreated into the Gorakhpur jungles, renewed his hostilities against the

Company's Government and resumed his depredations. The officers entrusted with the collection of revenue began to complain bitterly of the depredations committed by him. Early in May 1775, the Provincial Council of Patna received information from Lieutenant Erskine, who was in command of two battalions of sepoys stationed in the Hosseypur District, to the effect that Fateh Sahi had made a raid on Jadopur—a village six *oss* from Burrah Gang, the modern village of Barragaon, *alias* Line Bazar, the second name having its origin in the existence there of a military cantonment where the Company's troops used to be stationed in the last century—and that he had taken Mir Jhummal, the then Superintendent of Government Revenue, and Babu Basant Sahi by surprise, and put them and the majority of their attendants to a violent death. After murdering Babu Basant Sahi, Fateh Sahi sent the murdered chief's head to his widow, who, placing the gruesome relic on her lap, immolated herself on the funeral pyre, and, before breathing her last, pronounced a terrible curse against such of her descendants as should so far forget the violence done to her husband as to partake of food with Fateh Sahi or his descendants. To this her dying injunction the successive Maharajas of Hutwah have so far religiously adhered that they do not even partake of a fruit or touch a drop of water while travelling through a certain part of the Gorakhpur District which is in the possession of the Tamkootia Rajas—the lineal descendants of Fateh Sahi and the inheritors of that rebel chief's dominions in that district.

In the meantime Lieutenant Erskine had set out from Sewan with a detachment of sepoys and had given chase to the rebel chief and his retainers; but, after arriving at the scene of action he came to know that Fateh Sahi had retreated, laden with rich booty, into the Bank Jugginee jungle, which was in the dominions of Nawab Asafuddawla of Oudh, after murdering the defenceless people and robbing them of their valuables. Fateh Sahi had now under him a regular battalion of trained horsemen and matchlockmen, which went on increasing, because of the enlistment of large bodies of lawless fakirs and banditti who came flocking in to join his standard. He thus led the life of a robber chief, constantly sallying out from his retreat in the Bank Jugginee jungle, harassing the Company's troops stationed in that quarter, and levying contributions from the inhabitants of the district in the neighbourhood. Things continued in this state till the year 1808, when Fateh Sahi, in a fit of repentance, suddenly became a religious mendicant, and gave up his property in the Gorakhpur District to his family. His wife and his four

sons then applied to the Company's Government, praying that the Hosseypur Estate might be restored to them, as being the rightful owners thereof; but this application was rejected. Areemurdhan Sahi, one of the rebel chief's sons, again applied in 1816 and 1821, and preferred similar claims, which were, in both cases rejected. The great grandson of Fateh Sahi instituted in June 1829 a regular suit for the recovery of the Raj, which was, however, dismissed on the ground of being barred by limitation. In 1848, the last attempt at the recovery of the Hutwa Raj appears to have been made, but, like the preceding ones, it also failed.

After the murder of Babu Basant Sahi, the Company's Government took his son, Babu Mahesh Dutt Sahi, under its protection; and Babu Mahesh Dutt Sahi continued, like his late father, to render faithful and loyal services to the Company's Government. At this time he was under the tutelage of Dijoo Singh, a talukdar of the district and a faithful servant of the family. This talukdar, while acting as the guardian of the late Babu Basant Sahi's son, had rendered, invaluable service to the Company's Government by placing at its disposal a battalion of troops which he had raised at his own expense, and had assisted it by trying to arrest the rebel chief Fateh Sahi. He had also directed his attention towards restoring order and peace to the districts which had been thrown into utter confusion by the depredations committed by Fateh Sahi. But the circumstances of the talukdar and his ward were much straitened owing to his having had to perform these loyal services to the Government. In 1778, therefore, Babu Mahesh Dutt Sahi applied to the Revenue Council of Patna, praying that the zamindari of Husseypur might be granted him, and the Council, taking the distressed circumstances of the petitioner into consideration, recommended that "Fateh Sahi should be declared to have forfeited his zemindary and that it should be bestowed on that young man." The Supreme Government, however, did not show his claim the consideration it deserved, but shelved his petition and put him off with the vague promise that, when, with his assistance, the Government should have apprehended the person of Fateh Sahi, it would pay proper attention to his pretensions and services.

In 1784, accordingly, Babu Mahesh Dutt Sahi again applied, praying that a sanad for the zamindari and malikana of Pargana Husseypur might be granted him. But nothing satisfactory came of this petition either. The Government simply wrote to the Committee of Revenue saying that, should they think it advisable to invest the petitioner with the zamindari of Husseypur, it would be done on the express conditions of his effectually suppressing the depredations of Fateh Sahi, and

if possible, delivering up his person to Government within the term of one year. At the same time, they inserted a clause in his sanad to the effect that, in the event of his failing in obtaining these ends, either from negligence or any other cause that might be deemed unsatisfactory by Government upon a report thereof, which the committee was directed to make to the Government on the expiration of the then current Behar year, he would subject himself to immediate dispossession with the loss of every other interest which he might hold in the land in question.

When the Government was about to proclaim Babu Mahesh Dutt Sahi the rightful successor of the rebel chief Fateh Sahi, and to confer upon him the Husseypur Raj, the Babu died, in 1198 F. S., leaving an infant son, Babu—afterwards Maharaja—Chhattardhari Sahi Bahadur. But the estate remained as before in the hands of the East India Company.

In 1790, when the Decennial Settlement was in contemplation, the question what should be done with the confiscated Husseypur Estate cropped up for decision before the Government of Lord Cornwallis. In June of that year, Mr. Collector Montgomerie, who had received instructions to dispose of all lands being "the immediate property of the Company," informed the Board of Revenue that there were no lands within his District answering to that description, unless the lands forming the confiscated zemindary of Husseypur and another estate similarly circumstanced were of the kind referred to. In July of that year, the Board of Revenue, in submitting this letter to the Supreme Government, recommended that such portion of the Husseypur Estate as had been the property of Fateh Sahi should be declared confiscated and sold. But, in reply to the Board's recommendation, the Supreme Government directed "that such part of Husseypur as was stated by the Collector to have been the real property of the rebel Fateh Sahi, should be conferred on the infant son of the late Mahesh Dutt, after the usual publication had been made." In November 1790, the Collector of Saran reported that "no admissible claim had been preferred to the lands ordered to be confirmed to Chhattardhari Sahi." On the strength of this report, the Board of Revenue, in January 1791, recommended that the late Babu Mahesh Dutt Sahi's infant son, Babu Chhattardhari Sahi, "should be declared proprietor of the land in Husseypur which belongs to Fateh Sahi." Acting on this recommendation of the Board, the Supreme Government, on the 21st January 1791, passed the final order conferring the confiscated Husseypur Estate on Babu Chhattardhari Sahi. But, at that time, the grantee was only a minor of five years old, and the management of the newly-settled estate was taken

over by an administrative body composed of several Revenue Officers of the Government, and presided over by the Collector, the prototype of the Court of Wards of the present day. In October, 1802, Babu Chhattardhari Sahi came of age and entered into a formal engagement with the Company for the payment of the annual revenue to it; and the Revenue Officers who had managed the estate during Babu Chhattardhari Sahi's minority, made over charge of it to him and issued a proclamation directing the raiyats and tenants to pay their respective rents to him. Thus Babu Chhattardhari Sahi obtained direct possession of his estate, which is known as the Hutwa Raj.

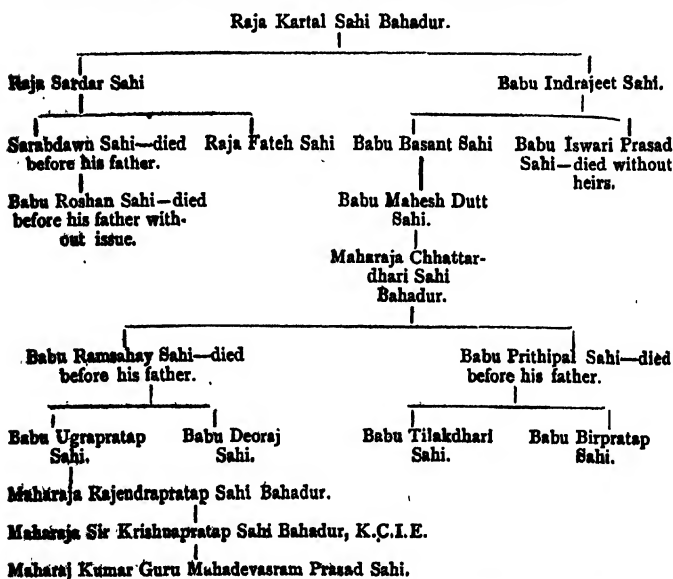
After his succession to the Husseypur Estate, Babu Chhattardhari Sahi continued to discharge his duties as a faithful and loyal subject of the British Government, and availed himself of every opportunity to show his loyalty to the British Throne. He removed his capital from Husseypur to Hutwa, where he built commodious palaces and other buildings. In July, 1837, the title of "Maharaja Bahadur" was conferred on him by the British Government. When a rebellion broke out among the hill-tribes of the Santhal Parganas, Maharaja Chhattardhari Sahi Bahadur came forward, as a loyal subject of the Crown, and rendered yeoman's service to the Government by promptly executing all orders issued by the authorities of the Saran District for supplies, &c. During the Indian Mutiny also he proved himself a staunch ally of the British Government; his loyalty was never for a moment doubted, and from the very outset of the rebellion, he greatly assisted the Government by furnishing supplies, carriage, &c., guarding the ghâts with levies of men raised by himself, and otherwise assisting it in the work of preserving peace and order.

Again, when Mutiny broke out in the Districts of Gorakhpur and Shahabad in June 1857, he kept the Government informed of the movements and intentions of the rebels there and adopted such effective measures for the preservation of peace and order, that there was not, even in a single village in the district of Saran, any sign of disaffection on the part of the people, notwithstanding that the adjoining district of Gorakhpur was at that time the theatre of anarchy and rapine. At this critical moment, he collected a large number of his retainers and, at considerable expense, employed them to protect the offices and the private houses of the officials in the district. When a large body of mutinous troops appeared at Sahanpur, a short way from Sewan—the head-quarters of the Sub-Division of that name—he assisted Mr. Lynch, the Magistrate in charge of that station, with horses and men; engaged



the mutineers, and succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on them. In recognition of the services rendered by him to the Government in suppressing the Mutiny in the Gorakhpur District, the Government recommended that the confiscated Mahals of the rebels there should be settled with Maharaja Chhattardhari Sahi. But his exertions in assisting the Government to suppress the Mutiny told severely on his health, which had already been enfeebled by old age, and, after lingering for some time, he died at Hutwa on the afternoon of the 16th March, 1858.

It will appear from the subjoined genealogical tree —



that Maharaja Chhattardhari Sahi had two sons, named Ramsahai Sahi and Prithipal Sahi, both of whom died during the life-time of their father. Babu Ramsahay Sahi left two sons, *vis.*, Babu Ugrapratap Sahi and Bahu Deoraj Sahi; and Babu Prithipal Sahi also left two sons, *vis.*, Babus Tilakdhari Sahi and Birpratap Sahi. At the time of Maharaja Chhattardhari Sahi's death, all of his four grandsons were alive. Babu Ugrapratap had one son, named Babu Rajendrapratap Sahi, whom the old Maharaja loved almost to distraction.

Maharaja Chhattardhari Sahi had all along expressed the wish that, after his demise, his favourite great-grandson, Babu Rajendraprotap Sahi, should succeed him on the *gadi* of

the Hutwa Raj. But Babu Ugrapratap Sahi, father of Babu Rajendrapratap Sahi, who, being the eldest grandson, could prefer a claim to succeed to the Raj by right of primogeniture, thought it prudent to waive his right in favour of his only son, Babu Rajendrapratap Sahi, who, consequently, succeeded his great-grandfather on the *guddi*. On the 23rd November, 1858, Mr., afterwards Sir Cecil, Beadon, informed Babu Rajendrapratap that the Governor-General in Council had been pleased to bestow on him the title of Maharaja Bahadur in succession to his late great-grandfather.

Maharaja Rajendrapratap had also rendered loyal services to the British Government in the suppression of the Mutiny, which were acknowledged by the Commissioner of Patna, in a letter dated the 29th July 1850, couched in the following terms :—" The aid and assistance which you, from loyalty and devotion to the Government, rendered to the authorities of the district at the time of the Mutiny, for the purpose of expelling the rebels, have given me much satisfaction. The Government of Bengal also expressed its acknowledgments to Maharaja Rajendrapratap Sahi for his ready and cordial co-operation with the authorities. It was, however, in October 1860, that the Government of India, by way of reward for the loyal and valuable services rendered to it by Maharaja Rajendrapratap Sahi and his illustrious predecessor, the late Maharaja Chhattardhari Sahi, conferred on the former "the proprietary right in confiscated villages (of the notorious rebel Kumar Singh) in Shahabad yielding a gross rental of 20,000 Rupees according to recent enquiry, and assigned in perpetuity to Government at Rupees 10,000 a year."

In 1869 the Maharaja was granted the privilege of private entrée to Government House.

It was in the time of Maharaja Rajendrapratap Sahi that the *cause celebre* known as the Hutwa Raj case took place. In this case Babus Tilakdhari Sahi and Birpratap Sahi, sons of the late Babu Prithipal Sahi, and grandsons of the late Maharaja Chhattardhari Sahi, sued Maharaja Rajendrapratap Sahi and others to establish their right to a moiety of the entire moveable and immoveable property left by Maharaja Chhattardhari, and to cancel a Will executed by him. This suit was at first tried by the District Court of Saran, which, after going into the merits of the case, dismissed it. After its decision by the District Court, Babu Tilakdhari Sahi withdrew from the litigation, leaving the other unsuccessful plaintiff to carry it on.

Babu Birpratap preferred an appeal from the decree of the District Court to the High Court of Judicature at Calcutta, which was also dismissed. The unsuccessful appellant thereupon preferred a second appeal to the Privy Council, which

after coming to the conclusion that the Courts below were right in holding that the estate granted to Maharaja Chhattardhari Sahi Bahadur in 1790 was the Raj of Husseypur, and that the right of succession to it from him was to be governed by law or custom which regulated its descent in the line of his ancestors, upheld the decisions of the lower Courts and dismissed the appeal.

Maharaja Rajendrapratap Sahi died in 1871, leaving an only minor son, the late Maharaja Sir Krishnapratap Sahi Bahadur.

Maharaja Sir Krishnapratap Sahi Bahadur was born in October 1857. At the time of Maharaja Rajendrapratap Sahi's death, His Highness the late chief was only fourteen years old. On account of his minority, the management of the estate was made over by the Board of Revenue to the Court of Wards, which appointed Mr. Hodgkinson, of the Bengal Civil Service, to be the Manager of the Raj, and Babu Bhubneshwar Dutt, of the Subordinate Executive Service, to be his Assistant. The estate was so ably managed by Mr. Hodgkinson and his talented Assistant, Babu Bhubneshwar Dutt, that, after defraying all the necessary expenses of the Raj, the management was able to invest the sum of about four lakhs and a half of rupees in Government Securities. But of this large sum, nearly three-fourths was subsequently spent in relieving the famine-stricken people during the terrible Behar famine of 1874. A survey of all the lands appertaining to the Raj was commenced during the time of the Court of Wards and finished in 1875. The Court of Wards not only directed its attention towards improving the estate and developing its resources, but caused a sound and liberal education to be imparted to His Highness. He possessed a thorough knowledge of the English language and could speak it fluently. He also used to take a keen and intelligent interest in all the burning questions of the day.

His Highness attained his majority in 1874, and, on the 31st August of that year, was duly installed on the ancestral *guddi*, amidst much rejoicing, by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. After his accession to the *guddi*, His Highness appointed Mr. Hodgkinson's assistant, the late lamented Babu Bhubneshwar Dutt, to be the Manager of his estates. Babu Bhubneshwar conducted the management so ably that the Hutwa Raj took its place among the most efficiently administered estates in the province of Behar. The Raj would not have been what it is at the present day, had it not been for Babu Bhubneshwar's high talents and distinguished administrative abilities. Under his efficient management, numerous permanent works of improvement and utility were undertaken and finished, not only

within the precincts of the town of Hutwa, but all over the estate. The resources of the Raj were also considerably developed in his time.

After Babu Bhubneshwar's death, His Highness appointed Babu Bipinbihari Bose, B.A., a gentleman of great parts who had formerly acted as Assistant to the late Manager, to be the Chief Manager of the Estate, and Babu Devendranath Dutt as Dewan and Joint Manager. The work of administration has been carried on by them also with much success, as will be evident from the fact that the gross rent-roll of the Raj, which was eight lakhs during the Court of Wards' management, has now risen to over twelve lakhs of rupees, and that, after defraying the increased expenditure of the Estate, they have been able to save the magnificent sum of sixty lakhs of rupees, which is kept in a reserve treasury. Under their management, the architectural aspect of the town of Hutwa has been considerably beautified by the erection of several handsome buildings, among which may be mentioned the new palace, which contains a magnificently furnished and decorated Durbar Hall. This Hall, which is daintily painted and gilded and decorated with numerous huge and magnificent crystal chandeliers and with its walls hung with the life-size portraits of all the crowned heads of Europe, is said to be one of the finest in India. Notwithstanding the non-existence of a municipality, the sanitary arrangements of the town have been considerably improved. Its clean-kept and well-metalled roads are swept and watered daily by a regular conservancy and street-watering establishment told off for the purpose. Numerous other improvements have also been effected all over the estate, in the shape of the construction of roads, bridges and embankments; many wells have been sunk and tanks excavated for the use of men and cattle and for irrigation purposes, and several beautiful and extensive orchards of fruit trees have been planted for the purpose of furnishing the poorer classes of the people and way-farers with fruit.

The Cadastral Survey of Behar which was first initiated in the Hutwa Raj Estate under the order of the Government of Bengal has, with the hearty co-operation of the Raj officials, been nearly brought to a successful termination, and has resulted in the addition to the rent-roll of the Estate of an increase of nearly sixty thousands of rupees.

His Highness had not only always expressed his sympathy with all the public and private philanthropic movements of the day, but had also ever been foremost to open his purse-strings liberally in order to promote their objects. In short, it might be said of him, as was said of an English sovereign, that

“—He had a tear of pity and a hand open as day for melting charity.”

As instances of His Highness' large-minded and catholic liberality, may be mentioned his benefaction of Rs. 25,000 to the Bankipore Industrial School (now merged in the recently founded Behar School of Engineering), which was established to commemorate the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to that town; another donation of a similar amount was made in aid of the Patriotic Fund which was started for the purpose of providing creature-comforts to the British soldiers engaged in the Afghan War of 1877-78, and yet another of the same amount was given by him to the Municipality of Benares in order to aid it in carrying to a successful close the much needed drainage works of that city.

His Highness was a model landlord, and always had the well-being of his tenantry at heart.

His Highness received a medal of distinction, struck in commemoration of the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to India in 1874-75, and another in 1877 at the Imperial Assemblage of Delhi, on the occasion of the Proclamation of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria as Empress of India. In 1889 he was created a Knight Commander of the Exalted Order of the Indian Empire. He was exempted from personal appearance in the Civil Courts, and was entitled to take with him, outside the limits of the Saran District, one hundred armed retainers. He was further granted the privilege of private entrée to Government House. He was several times offered seats in the Government Legislative Councils, but he declined to accept them on private grounds.

He was a good Sanskrit scholar and has left a large library, which, in addition to printed works in the Sanscrit language, includes a collection of valuable and rare Sanskrit MSS.

After occupying the *guddi* of the Hutwa Raj for nearly 22 years, His Highness breathed his last on the 20th October, 1896, after a painful and lingering illness of six months. He has left a son aged about four years, and a daughter nearly a year old. The minor Maharaj Kumar Guru Mahadevasram Prasad Sahi is heir to the *guddi* of the Hutwa Raj; but, on account of his minority, the management of the estate has been taken over by the Court of Wards.

The armorial bearings of the Maharajas of Hutwa consist of a shield surmounted with two swords and supported by two tigers, and have underneath a scroll inscribed with the Sanskrit motto.

“वर्मावर्तनं ह्वा”

S. C. M.

### ART. III.—FROM A WANDERER'S NOTE BOOK.

#### THE MOURNING OF MOSCOW.

*νῦν ῥῶδα φοιτήσασθε τὰ πένθημα, νῦν ἀνεμῶναι,  
νῦν ὑάκινθε λάλει τὰς ἡράματα καὶ πλεον αἰῶι  
λάμβανε τοῖς πετάλοισι.*

#### THE LAMENT FOR BION.

MOSCOW is shrouded in black\*. The great city, from the towered Kremlin in the midst to the mean, ungracious outskirts, still bends under a crushing blow; its pain is written with entire sincerity on every face. The careless life of the footpaths, the busy life of the markets, the insignificant round of trifles that make up the visible activity of the city, are hushed into deep, hardly understood grief. The eyes of all, from the magnates to the nomads of the pavement, are veiled from the streets and houses before them, fixed on two pictures far away—one, the mountains of Livadia, where a green mantle of oaks, magnolias, olives, sweeps down the hill side to the Euxine. The other a mist-wreathed spire beside the grey Neva, marking the last resting-place of their kings.

The people of Moscow, Russia's hundred millions with them, are rapt away from the things of the present to the contemplation of these two pictures. Their eyes are bent on the central figure in each: in the one, a great man dying; in the other, a great man dead.

Whoever doubts the unity of Russia's life; whoever doubts that her ruler is a ruler indeed, and not in name only; whoever doubts that the life of the people is bound up in unity with the life of the ruler, should look now on the sincerity of the nation's sorrow.

One can hardly behold the profound grief of Russia without two mingled feelings—deepest sympathy with the people's mourning, and profound envy that there are still lands where the flame of united national life burns with all-consuming brightness, and that we are no longer among their number.

You have only to enter the great cathedrals of Moscow, of any city in the Russian Empire, to feel how strongly, how passionately, beats the heart of the nation's loss.

In the forty shrines of the Kremlin, or the great temple of the Saviour—rising like a gold-crowned pyramid of marble,

\* Though the present tense is no longer applicable to the events which were the immediate occasion of this paper, it has been thought that more would be lost than gained by altering its original form. The interest which attaches to it as a presentment of the writer's impressions regarding the genius and destiny of the Russian nation remains unimpaired.—ED.

to commemorate the last invader's ruin—, or in the countless cathedrals and churches of her cities, one may learn yet another lesson of Russia's life.

One may learn that here, in Moscow, in Russia, the faith of the people is no dead thing, no lingering relic of the past, waiting for decent oblivion ; but a mighty power, a great reality that wraps the whole life of the people ; present in their sorrows, in their joys ; a strong support for them now, in the day of their great loss.

A religion with hardly anything in it of theology, hardly anything of dogma ; very little that the opening eyes of men may find to be illusive, much that wide open eyes may see to be lasting truth. A deep recognition of higher law ; a sense of the reality and holiness of things ; a firm faith in enduring good. Even in its outward forms, a religion full of beauty, as in the evening service, in the great temple of the Saviour. The dome, the arches, the aisles, shrouded in darkness, overshadow, in quiet rest, the crowded, silent, worshippers. A Greek chaunt, low, melodious, rises through the dark air. A little flame, glimmering for a moment under the great dome, begins to circle slowly through the whole cathedral, leaving everywhere in its pathway bright tongues of flame, till the dome and corridors all gleam with brightness—a second sunrise of the world ; a fit symbol of the ineffable light.

Between the great cathedral and the Kremlin flows the Moskwa river, the original of the city's name. From the river-bank rises the acropolis of Russia, girt with a long, crenelated wall of many towers. Across the broad space within, a city of white marble and gold ; cathedrals and imperial homes. High above soars the bell-tower of Ivan the Mighty ; its great golden cupola, borne aloft on a broad, snow-white shaft, catches the gleam of a hundred golden domes and cupolas beneath, and flashes it upward into the blue.

On the consecrated mound of the Kremlin was laid the foundation-stone of the Russian Empire. Every building, every tower, every court-yard here is full of history of a nation's power and a nation's faith, growing up together in united strength, full of the magnificent hope of youth.

The whole white fabric of the Kremlin, rising in a forest of towers and domes, wrapped in the lucent air, breathes out poetry and mystery, like Cleo's half opened scroll.

Seen thus from the bank of the Moskwa river, the Kremlin is one of the most beautiful and original spectacles in the world ; a fit successor to the Seven Wonders of the past. The Kremlin is the story of Russia in stone. At sight of it, the great epochs of Russia's history rise up again before the windows of memory. Clearest of all, alone free from the taint of blood

the reign of the dead Emperor, beginning with the day, not fourteen years ago, when all Russia was startled into horror by the tragedy of Alexander the Second.

A wonderful difference there is between the sorrowing of the nation then and now. Then sorrow was kindled to flame by wrath and a fever wherewith the whole State shook; a fever that had begun nearly forty years ago, in the golden dreams of self-emancipation; had grown through the years of reckless change and Utopian fancy that succeeded; had gathered strength in the inevitable days of recoil and retrogression, when the golden dreams were suddenly dissipated, when the glittering bubble burst. Still the fever of the nation grew, in the period of prostration that followed the Balkan War, till it culminated in the terrible death of the Emancipator.

When the news of Alexander the Second's death first swept as fire over Russia, it was received with wild incredulity.

To incredulity, as indubitable tidings came, succeeded terrible certainty, horror and wrath; and these together kindled the sorrow of the Russian people into a passion of revenge, rather than a passion of grief.

Yet, in spite of all lamentations, there was in wiser hearts a deeply hidden relief that a reign so fraught with storm and strife was at an end, that a monarch so impetuous and unstable had found rest at last.

In the feverish days, so hardly realisable now, that immediately followed Alexander the Second's death, two striking events showed very dramatically the character of his successor. A stern proclamation reminded the nobles of Russia that their privileges were only the complement of their duties, and that from these duties they must have grievously failed, before their country could have fallen into its wild delirium of fever. Then, the nobles were indignant and incredulous; they have since understood their mistake.

The second event was even more dramatic. For the first time in the history of Russia, every male subject of the Tsars, from twelve years old and upward, took the oath of allegiance to his ruler. Children, youths, old men, every soldier in the army, gathered together in the cathedrals, the churches, the public squares of the cities; raised their right hands toward heaven, and swore, in the sight of the highest and holiest, faithfully to obey and guard their monarch, to the last drop of blood in their veins.

A memorable sight it was; the close ranks, bareheaded, with uplifted right hands, repeating, sentence by sentence, the words of the oath. The quiet voices of the multitude, half whispering only, gathered a volume and resonance as of distant thunder. Then, whoever saw and heard, might have learned what



their land and their ruler mean to Russia's hundred millions. For them, loyalty and allegiance are no ceremony, but the crown of national life, a profound, living reality, a sacrament of religion—of a religion believed in.

From that day of taking the oath, the nation's fever began to abate. The whole land no longer trembled with doubt and suspicion, so that no man could look with open trust in the face of his fellow ; brother doubting brother, father and son keeping watch upon each other. The sense of public security that had been altogether lost, was restored ; it grew stronger year by year, till to fever succeeded the quiet days of convalescence ; and convalescence slowly changed to perfect health.

In all this great healing that penetrated a mighty empire from its centre to its utmost borders, one force only was operative—the personal character of Alexander the Third. Hardly any striking act of the dead ruler's reign can be cited ; nothing at all to set beside the theatrical deeds of his father. Alexander the Third's courage, high honour, and sincerity wrought the change, unaided by exterior help. The strength and quietness of the Emperor's heart spread slowly ; surely, to the utmost limits of his dominions ; from the mountains of Persia to the Arctic seas ; from the Vistula to the shores of the Pacific.

So deep had quiet peace wrapt Russia, that, in those sad, last days, the whole people could almost hear, in the silence, the failing heart-beats of their monarch, far away on the Crimean hills—a man who had within him something of the eternal silence, something of the everlasting peace. His latest words to his Queen were : “ Try to find peace ; I am in perfect peace.” Thus speaking, in perfect consciousness, he awakened from the dream of life.

The universal issue had been laid before him in all simplicity : whether to stand within the eye of honour, or through vileness to make the grand betrayal. The greatness of his responsibility only made more evident his perfect success : a life of honour, a death altogether to be envied.

Passing from the banks of the Moskwa river, and entering the Kremlin through the gateway of the towered wall, one leaves the more visible sorrow of the city behind.

Yet a note of mourning was not absent even here. Twice, in all the Kremlin's two score churches, the mortuary service for the dead ruler has resounded ; plaintive and tragic, yet with an undertone of faith. For the first time, on the ninth day after the Emperor's death, when, the Russian Church teaches, he entered the hall of the accusers ; for the second time, on the fortieth day, when he passed on to the Great Beyond.

On mornings like this, when broad sunlight flows over the

Kremlin's singular beauty ; when towers and domes gleam silent in the lucid air, it is difficult to remember that the Slavonic citadel has been the theatre of a whole series of national tragedies ; to every century a several calamity.

In the early days, the Kremlin was Moscow ; and the history of the Central Russian principedom was little more than the history of the Kremlin. The city was founded about seven hundred and fifty years ago, in the green fields beside the Moskwa river, where Juri, a prince of the old Russian line, had murdered his host who owned the land.

Moscow is a third Rome, wrote the old chroniclers—there will never be a fourth. The Capital was founded on a spot where they had dug up a bleeding head. Moscow also was built on blood, and destined, to the wonder of our enemies, to become a mighty Empire.

For three centuries the destiny of the city was hid in gloom, illumined now and then by lurid flashes of fire from the burning walls. For three centuries the might of wild Asia, the Tartar armies, surged round Moscow, that, like a second Thermopylæ, guarded the western world from overwhelming barbarian hordes.

With varying fortune, disaster never absent long, and new life triumphing again and again over disaster, the princes and people of Moscow fought against the Mongol Khans. Only after three long centuries of bitterest strife was the victory of Russia certain ; but the iron of this long danger entered into the soul of the people ; and from that time onward the dominant note of their life is resignation ; their songs even are full of sadness ; their national music is tinged with almost unendurable pathos.

Unthanked, unrecognised, Russia had saved Europe ; but it almost seemed as if Russia's own life had been sacrificed in the struggle. Thus, in the destiny of Russia there was always a note of wild tragedy ; and thus it was ordained that the people should be freed from the dangers of anarchy veiled under the form of oligarchy, not by a patriot hero, but by a phrensied tyrant ; a monster whose own hands slew his first-born son ; a ruler who, though full of genius, and blindly working out his nation's fate, yet fully deserved his sombre title, Ivann the Terrible.

Through two weak reigns—his second son's and Minister's—the impulse of ascendancy that Ivann the Terrible had given to his country, was carried on ; then, as the oligarchy was broken and dead, a failure of successors left the Russian nation without a ruler, face to face with its own destiny.

For a while the Russian people remained in uncertainty dumbly feeling after their true fate. Then the sense of national unity led them to a decision ; and they elected to embody that

ideal embodiment in the person of the dead Tsar. And a consciousness of this, profoundly felt, if not clearly formulated, has given its keenest bitterness to the mourning of Moscow to-day.

In the long line of Romanoffs, in whom the destiny and purpose of Russia has found personal embodiment, there have been many strong and commanding individuals. But two, and two only, have marked epochs of profound and far-reaching import.

The first of these was the grand innovator, Peter the Great. With personal force no whit inferior to the personal force of Ivann the Terrible, he tried to "break open for Russia a window to Europe;" to "tear up the Russian tree from the soil of Asian barbarism, and plant it in the European garden." And, toiling with enormous energy, almost, it seemed, he succeeded. The potent stream of tendency that he inaugurated, flowed on for generations; and its last visible sign was the golden mist of innovation, that glittered, hardly thirty years ago, before the eyes of Alexander the Second. He would have followed in the steps of western Europe; he would have led Russia to follow the halting steps that are never destined, it would seem, to reach their goal.

But the genius of Russia's destiny was too strong for him. After a generation of fever, he fell before the new evangels himself had created; and the recovering genius of Russia found embodiment in his son and successor, Alexander the Third.

In a brief reign of less than fourteen years, Alexander the Third, with consummate wisdom, with consummate patience, has known how to turn the life of Russia back to its immemorial channel; to give it a direction of high resolve and self-reverence, that, if untoward calamity hinders not, may lead his country to a perfect fruition of its ideal; to a complete fulfilment of the genius of Europe, which now finds its only resting place in Russia; the genius of sovereignty for the people and sacrifice for the people, the ideal of the sanctity of the race.

The innovations of Peter the Great, with all their futility, found a fitting home among the mists of St. Petersburg, which owns the hot-headed monarch as joint patron with the pilot of the Galilean Lake. But the true genius of Russia, the genius of self-reverent resolve, that found its recovery under Alexander the Third, finds its only home in Moscow, under the shadows of the Kremlin.

Moscow mourns its dead monarch to-day, and yet our sympathy for its mourning is mixed with envy—envy for the splendid destiny of Russia, a destiny to which her history hitherto is only a prelude and a beginning.

C. J.

## ART. IV.—VICTOR DURUY AND FRENCH EDUCATION.

### I.

**I**N the concluding months of the year 1894, France had to mourn the death of three eminent men, Ferdinand de Lesseps, Victor Duruy and M. Burdeau\*. But the "grand Français" was no longer so great, when he died, in the eyes

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\* The following interesting vindication of M. Burdeau is published in a recent number of the London *Times*:

#### A SLANDERED EX-MINISTER.

M. Auguste Burdeau, ex-Minister of Marine, President of the Chamber, and one of the most conspicuous Frenchmen of late years, died poor, leaving his wife (now herself dead) and his children in the most precarious situation. This man, loved and respected by all who knew him, never knew rest. Having married the widow of his brother, who was himself poor, he adopted her children and thus increased his responsibilities. Now a rumour is spread about that in 1888 Burdeau received 75,000*fr.* as Panama bribery. His children's guardians have therefore published the following letter written by Burdeau in 1889 on the eve of a duel:—

*"Paris, March 15, 1889, 10 p.m."*

"My dear Wife,—If I die you will use the newspaper salaries still due to me to meet the immediate necessities of life, for you will not be able to count on my insurance money. That is cancelled by my duel. I beg you, as to the use of this money, to consult Cosse, whose advice is good. You will then go to see Jules Ferry; you will explain to him your situation, your burdens, your lack of fortune. I count on him to get for you a tobacco shop which will give you a livelihood. At the Ministry of Education also a sum will be granted you out of the funds for the widows of professors and men of letters. Morel will direct you in this. I wish you to remain in France unless your situation becomes painful. You will leave Carlitos at boarding school if possible, but near you. Perhaps a bursary will be given him. May he but know how to profit by it! Tell him he has been my great anxiety in dying, and that I have loved him as much as my own poor children. If he will comprehend his duty, he will be your consolation, and in a few years your mainstay. Let him become industrious and upright. I give him my blessing. Give Louise the education of which she is capable. I wish her to have enough to become the wife of some good man rather than to engage in teaching. She will be brave, she will have an upright heart, she will sustain her mother in the trials of life. I place my hopes in her. As for my little Gabriel, make him remember me. He has a good disposition and an affectionate heart. May he, as he grows up, remain so. I leave life without fear, but I am very sad at leaving you alone, my loved ones. My dear wife, I have never ceased loving you a little more every day. You have given me peace, cheerfulness, and happiness. I thank you for it. Your name will be the last in my mind. Remember that I have never believed in the eternal separation of those who love each other. Farewell, all that I have loved in this world. I imprint here a last kiss for each of you, for my Carlitos, for my little Beyel, for my Baboche, and the longest for you, my adored Lucia. *Tu amigo que te quiere hasta la muerte.*

"A. BURDEAU."

of most of his countrymen ; the scandals connected with the Panama Canal had in part effaced his brilliant success at the Isthmus of Suez. Burdeau has acquired esteem, owing to his distinguished merit and his disinterestedness, which was significantly testified by his will, by which he left his family to the charge of the State, though he had filled some of its highest charges. Like Duruy, he had begun his career as a professor, and like him he had risen from the ranks of the people to a high ministerial position ; at the time of his decease he was President of the Chamber of Deputies. Yet, despite his qualifications, Burdeau was little more than an able and devoted official, and had won no great renown as a statesman, though we should not forget that he was cut off almost at the commencement of his political career.

The fate of Victor Duruy was very different ; he also was the architect of his own fortune ; but his talents inaugurated a new era in France through his promotion of education, and he died at an advanced age, the most popular among contemporary French historians.

Duruy was born in Paris in 1811, and was the son of a prosperous artizan, engaged in the artistic work of the State manufactory of the Gobelins. His father originally destined him for the same calling as himself ; but when his love of learning showed itself at an early age, he was allowed a liberal education, of which he made a most excellent use, and he finally chose a professor's career. In this capacity he taught, first at Rheims, and afterwards at the Lyceé of Henri IV at Paris. He soon gave proof of his originating talent by publishing, in the year 1838, a Political Geography of the Roman Republic and Empire, and is thus supposed to have been the first to connect intelligently the teachings of geography and history. A similar service that he rendered to the same subjects in relation to the Middle Ages of his own country, brought his name conspicuously before the public. His first great historical work was : *A History of the Romans and their Subject Peoples*. Two volumes of this work appeared in 1844, and confirmed the gifted young professor's reputation, which was later enhanced by a *History of the Greeks*.

His most popular production was the *History of France*, which appeared in 1882, and which is still the favourite history of the French people. His literary activity was intense, and it is said that as many as forty volumes have issued from his pen. He was, however, even more successful as a professor, and his history class was thronged by pupils, who worshipped and imitated their master. During the term of his professorship at the Lyceé of Henri IV, the princes of the reigning family of Orleans, Victorien Sardou, and other celebrities, were taught

by him. Meanwhile Duruy's rise was rapid, and he was soon appointed principal Lecturer of the Normal School, and nominated to the post of Inspector-General of Secondary Instruction.

Duruy was liberal by sympathy and conviction, despite his love of authority; yet, strange to say, he owed his immediate elevation to a dictator. When Napoleon III had finished his *Life of Cæsar*, he was unwilling to allow the book to be published before it had been submitted to the criticism of a competent historian. M. Rouland, who was Minister of Education at that period, advised the Emperor to consult Duruy. The latter was summoned to the Tuileries, and entrusted with the imperial manuscript; but he retained it so long that he was admonished and invited to hasten his examination. When at last he replaced the *Life of Cæsar* in the hands of its author, he was bold enough openly to express the opinion, that from a historical point of view the whole work should be commenced anew, and was told in reply that he was neither flattering nor encouraging.

These incidents, however, induced his subsequent relations with Napoleon III, which soon ripened into friendship. The latter held his society and his knowledge of history in great esteem. Indeed, the monarch often consulted the professor on this subject and was astonished at his attainments. Owing to the former's influence, Duruy was appointed Inspector of the Academy of Paris, and shortly afterwards Inspector-General. M. Rouland was astounded at the rapid rise of his subordinate, and remarked one day to the Emperor that "there was nothing left but to make him a Minister."

This honour was not long withheld; during a tour of inspection, in the month of June 1863, a message reached Duruy, announcing his appointment to the post of Minister of Public Education. No one was more surprised than himself at his unexpected fortune; but he resolutely applied himself to his duties, and it was soon apparent that a man of the highest ability had undertaken perhaps the most difficult task of his time. His predecessor, M. Rouland, a moderate Gallican, had fallen, it was said, owing to the opposition of the Ultramontane clergy, and it seemed improbable that an innovating liberal should succeed where the Gallican had failed. Besides Duruy was considered tainted with Protestantism in the opinions of good Catholics, as he had married a Protestant wife.

Previously to his appointment, the ministry of Education and of Public Worship had been united in the same person, but Duruy obtained their separation. As Minister of Education he could now devote his whole attention to the reforms which he had long meditated. His first effort was to undo the work of de

Falloux and Fortoul, two notoriously reactionary predecessors, by restoring in the Lyceés the professorship of philosophy, which de Falloux had replaced by a class for logic, and by allowing students once more to take their degrees in philosophy at the University. He besides abolished, in the Lyceés, the system of 'bifurcation,' which obliged pupils to specialise their studies before the basis of a good general education had been properly laid.

His other reforms were numerous and of the highest importance; but his great innovation concerned the education of girls. Hitherto, they had been generally speaking in a more backward state in this respect than the girls of Germany, Switzerland or England, and Duruy doubtless traced some of the defects of his countrymen to the deficient education of his countrywomen. In his attempts to remedy this evil, he met with the bitter opposition of the clergy, and especially of Dupanloup, the Bishop of Orleans, who was famous both as an orator and a patriot. In a debate arising out of the discussion of the measure for the improvement of women's education which Duruy had introduced, the Bishop wittily retorted that he was unwilling that "French girls should be lifted from the lap of the Church to be flung into the arms of the Professors." But Duruy ultimately prevailed, and passed a law enacting that every commune of 500 souls and upwards should be compelled to maintain a separate school for girls.

The deputies and senators, who had reluctantly voted this measure, imagined that the expense it would entail would prevent it from being carried into effect. But they were deceived, for liberalism was again in the ascendant. Though reactionary politicians protested, the Chambers voted the requisite supplies, while the communes eagerly contributed their quota; the edifices where French girls were in future to receive an adequate education, rose rapidly from the soil in every district of France, and within a brief interval as many as two thousand girls were attending their classes.

The latter soon became extremely popular, partly owing to the influence of the Empress, who at this period was a warm supporter of the new Minister, whose measures excited such great interest in France that public opinion divided itself into two camps, composed of Duruyites and anti-Duruyites.

The inauguration of an improved system of education for women, was perhaps, the most brilliant result of Duruy's official career; but he introduced, besides, other educational reforms of great utility. The law of which he was proudest was passed on June 21st, 1865, and originated special instruction, or the special institute which served as a useful intermediary

between the pupils of the secondary and primary schools. Duruy also established classes for adults in most districts, of France, to which the municipalities contributed with enthusiasm, and by this means he gave a great impulse to the extension of adult education, which has since been so much developed through the conferences and evening schools that are general in all French towns.

Duruy's minor reforms were numerous in favour of both professors and pupils. He established a court of appeal for dismissed professors; he introduced the study of contemporary history, which had hitherto been rejected as unsuitable for the youth of France; he increased the number of the "petits Lyceés," or colleges for young boys, which were destined in his opinion to be of great service to education; he reorganized the national museums and founded a model school for the training of professors at Cluny, a small and remote place in Burgundy, which he chose with a view to prepare his future Staff in a quiet retreat, far from the tumult of the world; and he founded a professorship for the study of Political Economy at the Faculty of Law.

He was himself an authority on the questions which this science involved. In his frequent addresses to French workmen he loved to transform himself for the time into a professor of Political Economy, and warned the youths among his audience, lest they should again become the dupes of current sophisms. On one occasion he remarked that imprudent men instigated workmen to break machines, after the year 1830, and that capital, since 1848, was attacked in their name, leaving his hearers to draw the obvious moral.

However, Duruy failed in passing the measure which he had most at heart. He was painfully aware of the deficient character of the education of his countrymen. He had ascertained that there were some 200,000 children above eleven years of age who were ignorant of their alphabet. He had discovered that there were in France 800,000 children who did not attend any school. A third of the conscripts could neither read nor write, and, on the occasion of marriages, some 29 per cent of the men and 43 per cent. of the women were unable to sign their names. It was also established at this time that 81 per cent. of people accused of crime were illiterate. Hence Duruy concluded that there was no remedy for so deplorable a state of affairs, save through a system of gratuitous and obligatory education.

Accordingly he resolved to introduce a measure in this sense, and was supported by the Emperor, who, it is impossible to deny, possessed extremely enlightened views on many subjects. Duruy's report in favour of obligatory education was favour-



ably received by him, and he is said to have written the word 'approved' on the back of the document. Owing, however, to some negligence, when the whole question was discussed in a Cabinet Council, this encouraging word of the Chief of the State was overlooked; and finally, owing to the opposition of the reactionary members of the cabinet, Duruy's sweeping reform was rejected.

His fall soon followed: the Empress, who had previously seconded his efforts for the improved education of French girls so warmly, seems at this time to have been influenced by the clerical party, who were extremely hostile to the spirit of Duruy's reform, and withdrew her support. Rouher, the most famous Minister of the time, also opposed his liberal opinions, and Duruy was compelled to resign his portfolio, in 1869, after a term of office of six years.

The overthrow of the Empire followed, in the succeeding year. Under the new régime, the partisans of the old were of course excluded from office. Duruy practically withdrew from politics, though he was an Imperialist candidate for the National Assembly of 1875. But he had played a conspicuous and noble part in the political world; he was certainly the greatest reformer of his party; he prepared the way for the sweeping educational reforms that were effected by the Republic, and he may be justly considered the father of modern education in France.

Throughout his ministerial career, he was, above all, the honest and faithful servant of his country; and, though he was attached to Napoleon III by the strong tie of personal friendship, he appears to have been more liberal than imperial in his views, despite his predilections for authority.

Still he believed that his country was undergoing a transformation during which the strong hand of a personal ruler could guide it more surely than the contentions of parties. He was faithful to his fallen master; and the consideration he felt for him during the term of his power is expressed by the words he himself uttered: "The prince who asked nothing of me, save to be the country's devoted servant."

Duruy was a voluminous author, and has left a number of valuable works to posterity. His histories still retain their popularity, and perhaps his History of France is more esteemed at the present time than any other book of the kind. Many of his opinions are most valuable to the historical student. Referring to Napoleon I, he has thus expressed himself: "Our disasters at that time made two victims, the Emperor and France; but both were guilty: the first, under the pretext of introducing new forms, restored the old régime, while the latter, to save herself the trouble of governing, allowed the edifice she had overthrown to be erected anew,

The *History of the Romans* is, however, justly considered Duruy's masterpiece. His study of Cæsar is profound and suggestive; he clearly shows that the establishment of the Empire was the lesser of two evils: there was no choice save between one despot and a hundred tyrants. This opinion probably served to excuse, in his eyes, the substitution of personal rule under Napoléon III for the Republic of 1848.

He ascribes Rome's loss of liberty, and, indeed, of her real identity to her conquest of the world. The Empire, on the ruins of Rome's ancient liberty, established a new Italy, which at the same time acquired new life and strength, and the Italian communes lent vitality to the system. When the extravagance and corruption of successive Cæsars enfeebled its vigour, the Empire fell, to give place to the mediæval transformation of society effected by Northern barbarians and the softening influence of Christianity.

Duruy's opinion of the part that morality plays in history was very high, and he left but a small place to fortune: he considered history the grand book of expiations and of recompenses, and was of the opinion of Polybius, who scarcely entertained even the idea of fortune. He rather sought to establish the doctrine of moral responsibility, and to inculcate attention to the present, so as to avert the ills which threaten the future."

In private life Duruy was irreproachable, and the ascendancy which marked his character was enhanced by his commanding figure and Roman features. He possessed the innate spirit of authority, and his iron will was able to overcome obstacles apparently insuperable. In a corrupt epoch and among unscrupulous colleagues, he was opposed to every corruption, and protected his honest and independent subordinates against dishonest intrigues. He was not only the greatest reformer under the Empire, but, above all, the honest man of his time; and even his enemies were compelled to recognise the intrinsic merit of his character. Long after his political downfall, his opinions on all matters connected with education carried great weight with them, and his death he was mourned by all his countrymen.

## II.

The redeeming feature of the present republican régime is the earnestness and thoroughness with which it has pursued the difficult task of reforming and generalising education in France; it has not hesitated before obstacles, or spared any cost in this respect. The Budget of Education for the present year amounts to nearly £8,000,000, excluding the quota contributed by the municipalities or communes, which amounts,

it is said, to nearly £2,000,000 more. This is an enormous increase when compared with the same budget under the Empire, which scarcely reached a total of £800,000, after Duruy had almost doubled the sum it attained before his accession to office. The result is shown by the marked development of education, for which there are great facilities for every class of the population. The visitor who now enters France for the first time, is impressed by the almost palatial character of many of the new school buildings which have replaced the modest constructions of former times. Indeed, so great are the educational resources of France to-day, that an average French boy only needs good will and opportunity to become a competent scholar. In primary schools the education is practical, and teaches thoroughly the rudiments of knowledge, including at the same time physical and gymnastic training, while the primary superior schools form a bridge between elementary and secondary education which it is not difficult for a studious pupil to cross.

Even the infancy of French children is cared for, and from the age of three till seven they are sent without any charge to the 'Ecoles Maternelles,' or mothers' schools, which are provided gratuitously in almost every village; the parents are thus relieved from embarrassment during a great part of the day, and the children are initiated into the mysteries of the alphabet. In England we have, it is true, our infant schools; but these afford scarcely the same facilities as the Ecole Maternelles, which are all supervised by trained teachers, furnished with Government diplomas.

It is, however, an error to suppose that the many excellent features of French education are to be all attributed to the effects of the Revolution. Even in the Middle Ages, free schools connected with the Chapters of cathedrals, as well as monasteries and convents, educated an important minority of the youth of the country. It is true, however, that higher education was extremely defective, and science was almost wholly modern.

In pre-revolutionary times Louis XIV issued a royal decree to appoint as many masters and mistresses as possible in every parish, that every child might receive instruction; but it is supposed that this measure was in great part owing to the wish of a bigoted court to educate Protestant children in the Catholic Faith.

Numerous charitable foundations provided, before the Revolution, for the education of the young, which was in a large measure gratuitous and under the supervision of religious fraternities and sisterhoods. At the close of the 17th century La Salle founded the Order of the "Christian doctrine," and perhaps contributed more to the extension of education than

any other reformer of the time. Where the parties were poor, the education bestowed was free of cost; and thousands of indigent children owed all their knowledge to the efforts of the admirable man who, to the credit of the Romish Church, has since been beatified. The Christian Brothers (*frères chrétiens*) still continue his work, and apparently with success, if the result of their labours be compared with the work of lay schools.

Though education was imperfectly organised under the 'ancien régime,' and science, modern history and modern languages were neglected, yet it cannot be denied that great opportunities were afforded for the education of all classes.\* If we compare the educational statistics of that period with those of the present time, we shall find the comparison not unfavourable to the past. At the commencement of the Revolution, before new measures were passed, many Commissions were despatched to the provinces for the purpose of making reports on existing institutions with a view to their reform, and education was a subject which greatly interested legislators. Hence the statistics of that time are numerous, and, as those we quote below are derived from the researches of independent critics like Taine and Albert Duruy (Victor Duruy's son), who were in no ways prejudiced in favour of the pre-revolutionary epoch, they are very instructive.

In 1789, France contained 25,000,000 inhabitants, 562 colleges and 72,747 scholars, of whom 40,000 were exhibitioners, educated, wholly or in part, free of cost. In 1882, with a population of 38,000,000, there were 81 Lycees, 300 colleges, and 79,223 scholars. In the course of ninety years the population was augmented by a third, but the number of pupils, at least of the pupils educated in scholastic institutions, did not increase by more than one-tenth; the number of exhibitioners was reduced by 35,000, and that of educational establishments by nearly 200. It is true that since 1882 there has been a great extension of education; but the present adult generation has scarcely possessed greater opportunities for instruction than its pre-revolutionary ancestors did. In 1789, there was one pupil among thirty-one children, and in 1882 one among thirty-seven.†

The accommodation afforded to elementary lay education was, however, at the former date, exceedingly deficient; the village schoolmasters were often the creatures of the Curés, and were at the same time beadles, parish clerks, sextons, &c. They

\* Taine: *Origin of the French Revolution*. Albert Duruy: *Public Instruction and the Revolution*.

† These figures refer, of course, to secondary education, but other statistics have shown that, till within the last decade, the number of children educated was nearly the same as in our times.

did little more than teach the three Rs in miserable cottages, chiefly by the aid of a birch-rod.

At the time of the Revolution great efforts were made to raise the level of education, but at first, despite the disinterested efforts of certain enlightened philosophers and reformers, the whole system of education was disorganised, and old and wealthy foundations were confiscated, to the great detriment of youthful scholars. Among the most famous educational projects of the time were those embodied in the report of Condorcet, which was marked by its scientific tendency; in the report of Talleyrand, with its logical plausibility, and in that of Romme, with its Utopian and Jacobin character.

The present system of education in France derives from the measure passed in 1795, in the last session of the convention. But it was Napoleon who stamped the system with his own effigy, and gave it an exclusively State organisation. Lyceés and Colleges became, under his direction, educational barracks, where the pupils were trained by beat of drum. Under the Restoration repeated efforts were made to abolish the State monopoly of education; but, as a reform in this sense was chiefly advocated by the clerical party, which was struggling to regain its old ascendancy, the nation was on its guard lest an exclusive Church should replace the control of the Government. In 1833 Guizot gave a great impulse to education by the once famous law which provided for higher elementary instruction through the establishment of superior primary schools. His influence, however, only served to inspire the future, for his law remained a dead letter till Duruy's advent to power.

During the monarchy of July, the clergy were unable to abate the State monopoly; the Republic of 1848 soon became reactionary, and de Falloux, the Ultramontane Minister of Education, prepared the way for Fortoul, whose term of office was marked by the narrowest retrograde measures.

The latter dismissed from the University professors like Jules Simon, Quinet, and Nuchelet, who were at the same time the most distinguished literary men of France. Fortoul was replaced, in 1859, by the Gallican, Rouland, who within a few years made way for Duruy, the subject of our memoir, who inaugurated the educational Renaissance of France.

In the closing year of the Empire, a grand Commission was formed, to the presidency of which Olivier nominated Guizot, with a view to the adoption of the best system of elementary education. The war of 1870 interrupted its labours, and, in the years which immediately followed that disastrous conflict, parliamentary debates touching education did not so much concern the question of gratuitous and obligatory education, on which public opinion had already decided, as the contention between the partizans of religious and lay instruction.

The Romish Church regained some of her lost influence, and was empowered to establish the Catholic Universities, which at first participated with the State in the right of conferring degrees, though this privilege was afterwards withdrawn. Waddington, Bert, and Jules Ferry took the most prominent part in educational reform. While the last named statesman was Minister, the law of June 16th, 1881, established throughout France gratuitous and obligatory education, which at the same time was declared secular. Still, even at the present time, Congreganiste schools, which are schools taught by Christian brothers and sisterhoods, are still tolerated as public schools in parishes which do not possess lay schools; and, where the latter exist, the former are allowed to compete with them.

It is, however, chiefly in private schools that religious teaching not only holds its own, but gains ground, and if we compare the number of pupils educated in Congreganiste schools with those educated in other private establishments, we shall find that religious societies have surpassed lay schools in teaching. Between the years 1830 and 1884, the pupils of the former, increased by twenty-one per cent. and those of the latter decreased by the same amount. The first are gaining ground, and have, compared with private lay institutions, achieved great success at public examinations.

We do not pretend to discuss the abstruse subject of higher education in France, but we may mention that it is becoming far more practical than formerly: modern languages are to some extent replacing the classics, while science and psychology are substituted for the spiritual philosophy that was so much in fashion at the time when Jules Simon and Cousin were lecturing at the Sorbonne. Pessimism, that was lately so popular, has yielded place to the teachings of Herbert Spencer, though Nietzsche is studied with much attention.

In conclusion, referring again to the subject of primary education, though the instruction given in public schools is almost entirely secular, there seems to be at the present time a current of opinion in favour of religious instruction. Religion is held in greater consideration by free thinkers, possibly in consequence of the disillusion experienced at the results of secular education, or from the influence of the Russian alliance, by which the French are bound by friendship to a nation of devout and orthodox believers. There is even a tendency to a Catholic revival that will leave far behind the pilgrimages to Rome and Lourdes; besides, the fruits of scepticism have not been so satisfactory as to encourage the views of the minority who are opposed to religious education. In despair at the latest excrescences, in the shape of anarchism and corruption, which modern society has developed, people look rather to the soften-

ing influence of family life and to spiritual teaching for the mitigation of existing abuses. It is apparent that moral catechisms do not suffice for the young, and the present divorce between church and school might be advantageously replaced by their union.

ARTHUR L. HOLMES.

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## ART. V.—LAW VERSUS GOVERNMENT.

The administration of India has been so frequently belauded by the people who have administered it, that to say that everything is not perfect is almost to doubt the word of the Temples, the Hunters, the Stracheys and Lyalls, and the other sages who have assured the world in such numerous volumes that it is so. To doubt the word of a Temple, a Hunter, a Strachey or a Lyall is, moreover, to fly in the face of the British public, who have accepted the ideal of a country inhabited by peaceful, happy, teeming, contented, but occasionally famine-stricken, millions, ruled by boy Magistrates as a tribute to the British intellect, an ideal suggested and aided, perhaps, by vague reminiscences of the Prophet's words, "a little child shall lead them." They are under the impression that before the Mutiny things might have been not quite as the British public desired they should be, but that since the Mutiny and the Government of India by the Crown, India has become as the Westphalia of Dr. Pangloss before he had that quarrel with Baron Thonder den Tronk. When the administrators of India have endowed it with so many miles of gas-pipes, railways and telegraph wire and introduced half anna postage, the British public think it the height of ingratitude to complain about anything else, and the following remarks will therefore in all probability be put down as the outpouring of an ill-disciplined and irregular mind—a mind, in fact, such as was tired of hearing Aristides called *The Just*. In the old days, before the mutiny, the same sort of excellent, but not so well advertised, people dwelt in India (not out of it), people who thought that the country was at no time so prosperous and contented, who pointed to the blessings of the British dominion, not perhaps in such elegant language disseminated in such fashionable lectures at the Society of Arts, or published by Mr. John Murray, but who were under the impression that a better-behaved, more law-abiding, orderly, loyal nation, with out any grievance whatever, never existed. If one were to suggest that the Indians of to-day are not loyal and contented, our retired administrators would behave as they did, and tell you that they are, and probably they would quote you extracts from Congress speeches to show you that if you really want to know what loyalty is, you should go and listen in a Congress pandal. Nothing, of course, would induce them to admit that there was a possibility of a grievance in anything enunciated by the National Congress, or that anything but pure laws and unalloyed justice had ever been heard of since



the Act for the Better Government of India. And yet there are people who have doubts.

One of the most striking features, in fact, of the Indian administration of the last twenty years is the supreme contempt for the law shown by almost everyone of the 700 or so enlightened persons who, by reason of their intellectual attainments in youth, are privileged to administer the country. Contempt for law may be said to be the countersign of Indian polity, and from Lieutenant-Governors down to newly-joined apprentices the doctrine that the law is an ass is all pervading. It is, in fact, the one opinion that may be said to make the whole administration kin. Ever since Bumble enunciated this celebrated proposition, and indeed long before it, people of limited education frequently entertained the view; but it is one of the most remarkable things in our Indian Empire that this opinion should be the one most widespread among a more or less cultivated and educated community. This mental phenomenon is all the more curious, inasmuch that the whole of the law of the country has been made by the class which abuses it. If it had been made by lawyers, one could understand the aversion to it; but it has not been, and yet there is not an amateur ruler of men from Peshawar to Cape Comorin who has not got a grievance on the subject. In the palmy days of the Company, before the invention of statesman Magistrates, the rulers of India governed much as they liked. If the result was tranquility and prosperity, the exact means by which the result was produced were not critically examined; but when people got accustomed to the benign rule of A., they resented the subsequent drastic rule of B., and, as Sir H. Maine points out, they clamoured for law or definite rules which would give them the same benefits as the rule of A. B., of course, was annoyed over it; his acts were subjected to some criterion, and he very soon came to the conclusion that law was at the bottom of all the difficulties of Indian administration. That Law, in fact, was paralyzing the administration, was the outcry in the time of Maine, and it is the outcry still. Maine said the change from autocratic and discretionary rule to constitutional or legal rule was quite inevitable, as the country made progress, and pointed out that one cannot have legal tribunals and discretionary government at the same time; but no one has bothered since very much as to what he said, and if any allusion is made to the subject at all, it is merely to say that Maine would, perhaps have said something different nowadays.

If the sky fell, we all know it would rain larks. It is, no doubt, difficult for persons who consider themselves the lineal descendants of Clive and Hastings to feel themselves hemmed

in by Codes and Regulations ; but it is this persistent blindness to the changed situation of things, and this unwillingness to accept the inevitable, that is so remarkable. In their efforts to get out of the hard-and-fast rules of law, there has been a tendency to attack those who administer those rules, and at various times in the last twenty years there have been conflicts between the executive and judicial authorities, sometimes serious, sometimes puerile, in which both parties have been to some extent right. The conflict is of the same nature as exists in the Transvaal at the present moment between the President and the Judges, and such as has existed in France and Continental countries for many years. But it has little or no counterpart in England, where the relations of the Executive and Judicial bodies have been much better defined, as Mr. Dicey shows. It is openly stated from time to time that this hostility has led to a policy on the part of the Executive Government, of achieving, by means of its power of selection, the degradation of the judiciary, and by decreasing their pay and prestige, which also is in their power, to gradually bring the institution which controls their actions into contempt. It is rather a Machiavellian idea ; but, on the whole there seems to be a good deal to be found in favour of the view, and there can be no doubt that the High Court of Bengal, to take one instance, has in fact waned in strength and intellectual capacity, and that it is no longer the power in the land that it was.

To what this is due, it is not our purpose to enquire at present, or to ask whether there are better men who have been driven out of the service by neglect, or whether there are better men who might have been obtained by a higher pay or greater discrimination in the appointments. There is not the slightest doubt, however, that the policy of depreciating the judiciary ought to be a bad one from the administrative point of view ; for in the long run an intellectually strong and consequently independent bench will do far more to strengthen an administration than one whose strength consists in convicting without evidence—a definition we once heard given of “a strong judge.”

From whatever causes, however, the objection to law may arise, there can be no doubt that all Indian administrators shrink from any appeal to it and do their utmost to avoid any criticism from it. Acts are passed by the Indian Legislatures, especially the minor ones, in which all recourse to the courts is forbidden. This is a very rude and timid way of escape, but it is not unfrequent. The following is an example. The other day a gentleman who, on behalf of a foreign Government, carried on certain duties in India, was called upon to pay the tax on

the whole of his income. The greater part of the income was received in London, and he drew only what he wanted for his domestic expenses. The point is one that has occupied the English Courts for several years, and the efforts of the Income Tax Collectors to bring returned Australians and others into the tax-gatherer's net have been unceasing. It has been decided, however, there that a man need only pay on what he actually receives in London, and that, if he has large funds in Australia or elsewhere, he need not pay on them. Questions of this sort are brought everyday amicably enough before the English Courts, and very often the Commissioners of Income Tax, who are private gentlemen of repute in the country, protect the subject from the onslaughts of the Collector, who represents official Somerset House views. The victim in question appealed to the Local Government, in whose jurisdiction he resided, and obtained from them a statement that he was liable only on his receipts in India. The matter subsequently came before the Government of India, and they took a different view, referring to some circular issued by themselves some time before, in which the Income Tax Act was construed by themselves for the benefit of their subordinates. The iniquity of this circular may be judged by the fact that it compelled American Missionaries who were paid in Chicago, to pay income tax in Burmah. The most curious part of the matter was that the opinion of the Advocate General had been taken on the subject by the applicant; but the Government refused to accept it, or to refer the matter again to him for his opinion, or to refer the matter to the Law Officers of the Crown in London, or to the Courts in India, all of which offers were made to them.

In England there would have been no difficulty; the officials would have referred the matter to a Civil Court to construe the Act; but in India a section has been carefully inserted into the Income-tax Act (section 39) by which no person can question, by any means whatever, the fiat of the Income-tax Collector. A man's goods may be seized for income tax which is not due, but there is no means known to the law of challenging this act. This is not an unfair sample of the use which the Indian Legislatures make of their enormous powers; but here is another instance. A few years ago, a question as to the stamping of leases came before the High Court of Bengal. The question was whether a lease for three years which contained an option to renew, required a higher stamp than a simple three years' lease. The Court decided that it did not, and the case is a reported one in the Official Law Reports.\* The Revenue Authorities of Calcutta however steadily decline to recognize the decision, and leases with options are refused registration every day, unless they bear the additional stamp.

It may be said, perhaps, though without any basis of reason, that these instances are of revenue matters, in which the Government must be allowed great latitude in order to protect itself; but the same modes of thought prevail in other matters. In 1890, to take another instance, the Government of India patched up its Railway Acts, and attempted to bring them into line with the English Acts as to interchange of traffic and facilities, and so on, merely to show that their Legislative Council tried to keep up to date. The railways in India are to a large extent owned by the State, and some of the State-owned railroads are leased out to private companies. Several sections were inserted in these Acts which modify, to a very great extent, their liabilities as common carriers. A very serious quarrel, however, arose with the three largest railways—the East Indian, the Great Indian Peninsular, and the Madras railway—as to the facilities clause. They said that although it might be open to the English Parliament to force the English lines into submission to their will, and to make them give traffic facilities and to abstain from undue preferences and other matters controlled by the Railway Commission and the Board of Trade, yet with the Indian railways who had contracts with the Government of India, the question was entirely different, and it was open to no Government, not even that of India, to make a bargain, and then to legislate it away.

They protested against any tribunal like the Railway Commission, and especially against the sort of temporary tribunal provided for in the Act by the Government, and which would consist mainly of its own officials. Mr. Horace Bell, in his work on India Railways, alludes to the point, contrasting the two tribunals. He says, "the contrast is marked, and is, moreover, characterised by the anomaly that in the Indian Act the decisions as to the necessity of appointing a commission, as also the selection of the members, are left in the hands of the executive. As the owner of most of the lines and copartner in others, the Government of India could hardly be regarded, from a legal point of view, as able to exercise impartial judgment in these important initiatory steps, more particularly if, as well might happen, the case to be dealt with was one in which the interests of the State were involved." Mr. H. Bell thought this was no real objection, but the Railway Companies did think so, and were advised by their Counsel in London that the Act was *ultra vires*. The Indian Government deprecated a reference to the law officers of the Crown on the subject, and the matter was dropped, but it will some day arise when the Act is attempted to be enforced against the Companies. As they are powerful companies with plenty of friends at home, the Indian Government will not probably face the question; but the instance is

an excellent one of the way in which the Indian authorities use their very handy legislature to protect themselves from the law by creating tribunals of their own to judge their own affairs.

The *Pioneer* of 24th February last contains an instance of the way in which the law is ignored by the Government in its own concerns whenever it is inconvenient. Under the Explosives Act there are all sorts of elaborate provisions about Magazines and safety zones and isolation, all of which are very strictly enforced in the case of private individuals; but the writer points out that Government quite ignores the rules in its own affairs, and that the Ishapur gunpowder factory is on a main road, and another magazine is situated on the banks of the Hooghly, which is crowded with shipping and boats.

In cases where land is acquired for public purposes, the contempt of the Indian Government official for law is very marked. It is not a bit too hard to say that the present law of land acquisition, as worked by the Executive, is simply a means of confiscation—a confiscation all the more iniquitous because made with elaborate hypocrisy in the name of the law. Scarcely a day passes without cases of this sort being dragged to light. The Government consider themselves hardly treated when a case is appealed and goes against them, as it generally does, and the law in 1894 was altered to a very great extent solely in their interests, although the Bengal Chamber of Commerce made a forcible protest against it. It will suffice to say that, on the valuation of a land acquisition collector, as he is called, a Government official, a person who has very often never valued anything of the sort before, and whose position depends on his valuing low, a man's property may be taken from him in about seven days, he being left to a prolonged litigation if he wants more than offered.

The subject is too long a one to be dealt with adequately, but here are two instances taken at random, both of which took place in the last few months. A piece of ground was taken belonging to a Nepalese tea planter in the Darjeeling district. He was paid 5,000 Rs. for it, this being the valuation of the official land acquisition Collector. This was increased, on appeal, to Rs. 13,000, by the district judge; and, on appeal to the High Court, the value was given as 23,000 Rs., which is four times the amount originally offered. Another case of the sort occurred recently at Chittagong, where land on the foreshore of the river was acquired for the new Assam railway. A portion only of the land had been occupied temporarily by the railway, at Rs. 4,800 a year rent; but the sum of 6,000 Rs. was all that the collector valued it at. This figure was increased by the judge to Rs. 140,000, or about 25 times the price originally offered.

These are not isolated cases, they have been picked out during the last six months, and are fair enough instances of the way in which the law is strained, and dozens of the same sort could be found. In both cases the Government officials concerned were, of course, very indignant at the conduct of the judges and the law generally. The number of persons able to appeal against unjust valuations is of course limited, for the litigation of the Government is conducted with precisely the same meanness as that of ordinary native litigants, the chief aim being to wear out your opponent by delay. By the Act of 1894 a man is mulcted in costs for making an exaggerated claim. In England a man is allowed to put any value he likes on his property, and is not fined for doing so; and, although England is not India, yet both Sir James Stephen and Sir John Strachey were clamorously indignant at the suggestion, that in passing the Act of 1870 on the subject, they were going beyond the English law of expropriation, a law about which there had been few complaints from even the Railway Companies. These acquisitions are, moreover, made not only for the public, but for any manufacturing Company, and only the other day a paper mill near Calcutta acquired a large piece of ground by evicting the inhabitants under the Act, although, when passing the bill through the Council, the member in charge explained that the word 'Company' in the Act meant a public Company, such as a railway, and the Act would never be extended to private manufacturing firms on any pretext. Some one once observed that the law had a nose of wax; but, when you have absolute control of the law, the law becomes still more flexible, more, in fact like vaseline.

Perhaps, however, if merely a certain amount of insubordination to the law-courts were the only thing laid to the charge of Indian officialism, no one would complain; but the extent to which commercial interests are affected by this attitude is very great indeed. That government by law is the only real security for life and property, and therefore the indispensable condition of the growth of wealth, was true before Sir James Stephen said it; but the proposition is one that does not seem to have obtained from the Government of India the consideration it deserves.

Referring to the recent controversy as to the duty of Government in the famine, the London *Statist* remarked that "the Indian Government appears to look with suspicion on private traders, indeed it does much to discourage private enterprise." This was said in January of this year; the fact is quite true and is quite ancient, and was a precious legacy to the Government of the Crown from the old East India Company. Almost for the first time for forty-years an attempt has been made this month to encourage commerce by a meeting between Mr.

Cotton, Chief-Commissioner of Assam and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, with the object of endeavouring to interest it in the development of Assam ; but in this, again, the idea of benefiting his territory was more present to Mr. Cotton's mind than the idea of helping commerce. Still it is a solitary instance of an advance made to commerce by the Government officials of India. The commercial interest of India has generally been carefully ignored, though after the mutiny it was a good deal talked about in the Council of the Viceroy ; and though a Calcutta merchant has generally been on that Council, yet the situation of such men as Messrs. Bullen Smith, Skinner and Cowie has always been more or less one of sufferance. The attitude of Sir Ashley Eden to the Bengal indigo planters—an attitude which practically ruined the Lower Bengal indigo industry—is notorious, as also are the social reasons for that attitude. The Bengal indigo planter was, perhaps, not a highly cultured person ; but he spent a good deal of money in the district, in one way or another, and added to its prosperity, and his iniquities, even as figured in the Nil Durpan, were probably small in comparison with the net gain to the country. The official mind, however, has always been against indigo to a greater or less extent. The tea and jute industries are recent creations, but the former has been hampered with coolie legislation and regulations, and the latter has flourished in spite of the Government. Jute, the most flourishing of the three has been left alone ; but the coal industry is about to be fenced round with superfluous legislation. All these industries, however, are based on the supposition that law to a certain extent prevails in India by which their rights and contracts will be enforced within reasonable limits, but in practice this is not the case, and the allowance which has to be made for the absence of a reasonable certainty of law puts a heavy tax on capital.

An instance of the sort of thing that goes on is the following :—A year or so ago, a coal company leased a mine for eight months with an option of purchase, and entered into possession and declared their intention to buy. The owner, then, for some reason, changed his mind. In India, as is well known, every dispute is, if possible, taken to a criminal court, and by the 145th section of the Criminal Procedure Code, it is possible to drag every title in India before a criminal court by saying you have been driven out of possession. The vendor bribed the whole of the company's agents, and they declared for him, and the Magistrate, a young person of tender years, held the vendor to be in possession. So far the state of the law was merely defective. The High Court, on appeal, sent the matter to the District Magistrate to appoint a manager, a sort of receiver, in fact, to keep the workings free of water and a

well-known banker was appointed receiver on behalf of the court. This order was set aside by Sir Charles Elliott, the Lieutenant-Governor, on *ex parte* statements, by an executive order. When quarrels between two litigants which are regularly before the courts can be interfered with by executive orders, it is impossible, of course, to expect capital to trust itself to the development of India at low rates of interest. There was in this particular instance, of course, no suspicion of the good faith of Sir Charles Elliott; but people very naturally asked themselves whether, if executive officials act on *ex-parte* statements, cases might not arise where executive orders might be made to depress or raise the price of shares. Such a state of things would, in fact, make trading intolerable.

Another instance of undue interference with commerce took place in 1890, when the clause was inserted in the Railway Act by which the liability of the State Railway Companies was reduced below that of their rivals the Inland Navigation Companies. Representations made on this subject were disregarded till reference was made to the Secretary of State, and then only was redress obtained. The spectacle of the State competing with individual traders, and utilising its legislative power to improve its position, was then put an end to by the repeal of the section, but the operation took about four years of incessant agitation.

In 1895 an Inland Steamer Company found that a State Railway would like to begin competing on the waters it had traded in for twenty years. This was possibly legitimate, but the Government officials of the Berhampur District took up the question warmly, in the interest of the State-owned East Indian Railway. The land at which the Steamer Company had moored for years was acquired by the Land Acquisition Collector and the Steamer Company were forbidden to land, and so eager was the official to dish the Steamer Company that he acquired the whole bed of the Bhagirathi river, which in fact belonged to the State, at the same time, for which he got a wiggling because it was ridiculous.

We will give only one more instance of the ways in which trade is handicapped. A firm of sugar refiners, some years ago, owned a large frontage on the Hooghly river along which the Port Commissioners of Calcutta wanted to construct a road. The value of the frontage was increased by a jetty. The Port Commissioners, acting under the large powers given by their Act, forbade goods being landed at the jetty, and then at once proceeded to acquire the land, contending that it had lost its value as a wharf. This preposterous claim was upheld, and



all the legal resources of the Government strained to secure a verdict in the land acquisition proceedings. It may be said that there is scarcely a firm in Calcutta which has not had bitter experience of the ways of the Government. Under Sir Stuart Bayley, an attempt was made, in 1890, to confiscate without compensation all the jetties on the Hooghly river, and in spite of strenuous opposition the bill was passed by the Bengal Council. All these illegalities are, of course, taken into consideration in the risking of capital. The trouble is augmented by the enormous court fees inflicted under the idea that Bengal litigation can be thus discouraged, and by the permanent quarrel between the High Court and the Executive. It is quite open to doubt, to begin with, whether the Bengali is litigious, seeing that the same members of the Viceroy's Council have affirmed it and denied it at intervals, as the proposition was convenient or inconvenient.

The attitude, however, of the High Court and the Executive to each other is quite deplorable. The former has developed a hypersensitiveness to criticism which would be ludicrous, if not so serious to the interests involved. Sir Alexander Mackenzie remarked, the other day, that six months seemed to him to be rather a long time for a man to try a case, and the High Court was at once up in arms at his daring to criticise one of their subordinates; Lord Lytton, in his celebrated Fuller Minute, raised the whole question of the subordination of the judicial service to the Executive, a question which was solved at that time in a very shilly-shally sort of way by the then Secretary of State, and precisely in the sort of way to let the question reappear at intervals, which it has done. It raises a very important Constitutional principle, namely, whether the independence of the Judges, such as was secured by the Act of Settlement in England is to be ignored in India; and until this is settled definitely by Parliament itself, or by some higher authority than the Secretary of State, things will never improve. While it remains unsettled the High Court will devote their time to asserting their dignity instead of looking after the improvement of the administration of justice. At present justice is almost unattainable with any degree of certainty and without an expense entirely disproportionate to the result. In a normal condition of law courts, such as prevails in England, it ought to be possible for a plaintiff with a good case, such as an ordinary commercial debt, to recover it in spite of any advocacy, however powerful, of the other side. In India this is quite impossible, and in practice heavily paid advocates have to be employed. This is due almost entirely to the fact that the bench is not recruited from successful practising advocates, who alone are capable of dealing with forensic artifices,

but from a separate class entirely. The subordinate judiciary come from a class of failures. The district judges now come from a similar class of failed civilians, but it is impossible almost for any man to take to judging civil cases without any previous training, as they try to do, and it is wonderful that they can do it at all. The High Courts are recruited in such a manner as to destroy confidence, Judges being appointed from the most competent of a particular race, of which the most competent are often incompetent, and in the result with few exceptions the Bar get out of hand. Cases are spun out to enormous length in the High Courts, and the subtlest technicalities prevail even in Small Cause Courts. In the Calcutta Small Cause Court, the other day, a case was proceeding in which twelve days were spent over a question involving Rs. 300; in another case a new trial was given because it had not been proved that a large line of freight steamers were common carriers. A mercantile case, involving 2,000 Rs. occupied the High Court twenty-one days some years ago, and six, seven, and ten days are not uncommon. All this points to a deterioration in the Bench. Their pay no doubt has been reduced severely, ostensibly on the ground of financial stress; but their *personnel* seems to be very far from being as strong as it used to be.

The new Chief Justice of Bengal has already stated his deliberate opinion that far too much of the time of the Courts is occupied by squabbles, about procedure; and if he can remedy this, he will achieve an Herculean task. Unfortunately the loosely drawn Codes are full of ill-considered clauses involving hopeless contradictions, and the intricacy of Indian law, compared with English, is extraordinary in spite of its supposed simplification, as all who have the misfortune to be litigants become fully aware. A circular has just been issued by the Government, who are shocked at the enormous number of appeals in India. Sir Henry Maine pointed out, thirty years ago, that, with the sort of judges we had got—and he gave some very decided opinions about them—that it was impossible to stop appeals with justice. For thirty years, absolutely nothing has been done to do what he said must be done, namely, improve the judges.

It is as impossible to carry on with any success a legal system presided over by amateurs, as it would be to carry on the medical profession without training. Without medical training medical practice is mere quackery, and it is legal quackery unfortunately that India is suffering from. People who suffer from it naturally resent it, and if they appeal, the conclusion is at once arrived at that the nation are litigious and appeals must be stopped at any price. Lord Hobhouse had a decided

opinion that the Bengali was not more litigious than other persons—just as Mr. Chalmers thought the Bengali did not lie more than the Birmingham equivalent. Until, however, there is a thorough legal reform, until the ideas of Sir Henry Maine's brilliant mind are worked out and vivified by some master hand, so long shall we have an atrophied set of Courts working out their daily grind and compiling statistics of their own incompetence. Really it is time something was done more practical than sending Sir Henry Prinsep on deputation duty to Simla to revise the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure and to create opportunities for fresh decisions as to whether section 431*a* is not in direct conflict with section 219*b*. From the point of view of Europeans trading with India a Commission on the affairs of India like those of 1813, 1833 and 1853 is eminently desirable, although there is no longer any question of renewing a Charter, but only the question whether law free from executive interference is the right of Englishmen in India as well as in England.

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## ART. VI.—LUCRETIVS.

THE subject of the following article holds a proud position in the history of literature, as being a greater poet than any that had arisen in the world since the day of the battle of Salamis, when Euripides first saw the light four hundred years before. So long was the interval between the last great poet of Greece and the first great poet of Rome. Lucretius is not only the first Latin poet who can bear comparison with the master minds of Greece, but also, in his own species of poetry, philosophical poetry, he is superior to any other poet whom Greece or any other nation has yet produced. In reading his works the English student has the advantage of the best possible guidance from scholars of his own nation. Munro's edition of Lucretius is one of the finest monuments of English scholarship. Sellar's appreciation of the same poet in his *Roman Poets of the Republic* may stand side by side with Matthew Arnold's *Lecture on Homer*, as among the truest and most admirable criticisms to be found in the English language.

Very little information is given in ancient writers about the life of Lucretius. St. Jerome says that he was born in 95 B. C., and is the authority for the story that he was driven mad by a love philtre; that his great poem was composed in his lucid intervals and corrected by Cicero after his death, and finally that he died by his own hand in his forty-fourth year. The idea of the great philosopher and poet having his brain deranged by the love philtre of a jealous woman lends itself easily to poetical purposes, and is finely elaborated by Tennyson in his poem, *Lucretius*, from which English readers may obtain, in a poetical form, some knowledge of the salient points of the teaching of Lucretius, and which contains fine translations of individual passages. It must, however, be borne in mind that Tennyson describes Lucretius such as he might have been when the poison of the love potion had entirely disordered his brain, when

The wicked broth  
Confused the chemic labour of the blood,  
And, tickling the brute brain within the man's,  
Made havoc among those tender cells and check'd  
His power to shape.

Hence in the English poem are deliberately introduced confusion and incoherency very different from the orderly arrangement of the great Latin poem on which it is based. Tennyson relates how the poet took of his wife's caresses

" Small notice or austerely, for—his mind  
 Half buried in some weightier argument,  
 Or fancy borne perhaps upon the rise  
 And long roll of the hexameter—he passed  
 To turn and ponder these three hundred scrolls  
 Left by the teacher whom he held divine."

Then follows a long soliloquy upon the main points of the Epicurean philosophy and other discordant ideas suggested by madness, at the end of which the poet stabs himself. There is absolutely no means of testing the truth of this romantic story of the love philtre. On the one side it is argued that the elaborately constructed and profound poem of Lucretius is not the kind of work that one would expect to be composed by a madman in his lucid intervals. Others urge that such intense concentration of thought as is displayed in the poem is often a cause or a symptom of mental derangement.

If the story of his madness is false, we know scarcely anything of the life of Lucretius. His poem tells us nothing but his friendship for Memmius, who from other sources of information is known to have been a singularly inappropriate person to have such a poem dedicated to him. His name shows that he belonged to an old aristocratic family that had been famous in the early days of the Republic. With aristocratic pride, he kept aloof from the politics of the day, or at least makes no mention of them in his poem. His historical illustrations are taken, not from contemporary history, but from the times of the Punic wars celebrated by his predecessor, Ennius, for whom he expresses great reverence. The time in which he lived was, indeed, not such as had many attractions for a high soul like his. Its chief characteristics were abandoned luxury and civil war carried on by Roman against Roman with horrible ferocity. It is described by Matthew Arnold in his *Obermann* Once More in words and thoughts evidently borrowed from the poem of Lucretius (iii, 913, 1060—1067) :—

On that hard Pagan world disgust  
 And secret loathing fell ;  
 Deep weariness and sated lust  
 Made human life ; a hell.  
 In his cool hall with haggard eyes  
 The Roman noble lay ;  
 He drove abroad in furious guise,  
 Along the Appian way.  
 He made a feast, drank fierce and fast  
 And crown'd his hair with flowers.  
 No easier and no quicker pass'd  
 The impracticable hours.

To this world Lucretius refused his companionship, but not, as we shall see, his compassion. He lived aloof from it, studying nature deep into the night, and enjoying the simple plea-

asures of high thinking and plain living in the country, far away from the vice and luxury of Rome. Thus it is that his great poem stands out by itself, a work not closely connected with the age in which it was produced, and, therefore, not much appreciated by his contemporaries, but for that very reason all the more universal in its scope, and framed not for an age but for all time.

Lucretius' great poem is called 'De Natura Rerum,' that is, 'Concerning the nature of things.' It is an exposition of the atomic theory of the universe, which was held in Greece by Democritus and Epicurus and in India by Kanada. Besides expounding the physical system that Epicurus derived from Democritus, Lucretius teaches the other doctrines of Epicurus, including his celebrated moral doctrine, that pleasure is the only good, and his belief that the Gods neither created the world nor interfere with its affairs, but pass their time in divine tranquillity without allowing the sufferings or crimes of men to mar their perfect blessedness. In addition to denying the providence of the Gods, he also denies the possibility of a future life for man. Such are the chief doctrines taught by Lucretius.

Let us now see what were the main objects that Lucretius set before himself when he composed his poem. Did he, in the spirit of the philosophy he professed, seek for himself pleasure and poetical fame? Or was his motive the desire to produce a literary masterpiece? His motives were far nobler. He wished, above all things, to satisfy his passionate love of truth by teaching the world the true nature of the universe, and to free men from the burden of misery by eradicating from their souls the fear of death and of the anger of capricious and cruel Gods. These were his two great objects. All the beauty of his poem was only a means to these ends. In a celebrated passage he compares the graces of his poetry with the sugar smeared on the cup containing a nauseous drug in order that a child may be tempted thereby to take what is good for it. In the same way his poetry was intended to induce his readers to listen to abstruse arguments and unpalatable truths which they would not stomach if presented in a less attractive form.

Macaulay, in his epigrammatic style, remarks that "the greatest didactic poem in any language was written in defence of the silliest and meanest of all systems of natural and moral philosophy." Here, as in many other cases, the brilliant essayist and historian has sacrificed truth to his love of antithesis. The atomic theory is so far from being the silliest of all systems of natural philosophy, that it is accepted by some of the most eminent of modern men of science. The Epicurean system of Ethics has suffered from misrepresentation on the part either of superficial followers or adverse critics, who have chosen to

suppose that the pleasure prescribed as the end of life was merely sensual pleasure, and this error has been stereotyped in ordinary language by the meaning of the word 'epicure.' As a matter of fact, those who recognise, as Lucretius and Epicurus did, that sensual pleasures are inferior to higher pleasures, may see clearly that the rational pursuit of pleasure leads to the practice of the virtues of justice, benevolence, temperance, and sobriety. It must be admitted that the Epicurean ethical system is not the highest type of morality. The Epicurean, if he is wise, will seek the permanent pleasures of virtue rather than the fleeting pleasures of the senses, and will prefer the pleasure of making others happy to the unmitigated selfishness of seeking only his own happiness. But such preferences are, in truth, only refined forms of selfishness, and the follower of Epicurus, as long as he obeys his master, is incapable of absolute self-sacrifice. Nevertheless, although thus opposed to the noblest form of morality, self-sacrifice, Epicureanism is compatible with a tolerably high strain of virtue, using virtue in its ordinary sense. If all men were rational and consistent Epicureans, the world would be a much better place to live in than it is at present.

Lucretius then taught a philosophy, which, in spite of Macaulay's epigram, we may maintain to be neither silly nor mean, although it may have many defects open to criticism. It does not, however, follow that the Epicurean system of philosophy was an inspiring theme for a great poet to celebrate in his verse. Such subjects as cosmogony and ethics are more usually discussed in prose treatises. We have an instance of the prose exposition of this very subject, the Epicurean system, in Cicero's treatise on the Nature of the Gods, in which Velleius, the representative of Epicureanism, gives the prose counterpart of the poem of Lucretius. Anyone who compares the prose account of Epicureanism given by Cicero with that given in verse by Lucretius, will soon see that the difference between the two is not merely the difference between prose and metre. The poem of Lucretius exhibits great powers of harmony, massive and sonorous harmony, more impressive, if less graceful, than the verse of Virgil. But it manifests the soul of poetry as well as the outward metrical form. If poetry is an art, which by imagination impresses the imagination, nothing could impress the imagination more powerfully than the grand picture of the universe from the earth in the centre to the flaming walls that were supposed to surround Nature. The poet succeeds in communicating to his readers the wonder and awe with which the magnificent spectacle revealed to his mind's eye inspired him. In the harmony of his long rolling hexameters, he marshals in grand array the great phenomena of

nature, the fruit-bearing earth, the sea overspread with the wings of ships, the constellations, meteors and comets gliding through the austere silence of night, the clouds, the sun, the rain, the winds, the snow, the lightning and reverberating thunder. With a bold anticipation of the truths of modern astronomy, he declared the plurality of worlds, and taught that the earth was to the whole universe as a single man is to the whole earth. Through nature, extended to the utmost bounds of space and time by this conception, he saw, in the words of Tennyson—

the flaring atom-streams  
And torrents of her myriad universe,  
Ruining along the illimitable inane,  
Fly on to clash together again, and make  
Another and another frame of things  
For ever.

The poet's vivid conception of the immensity of the great universe, in the material of which man was such an insignificant fraction, did not make him shut his eyes to the interest of human and animal life. His sympathetic heart would descend from the heights of serene contemplation of the nature of things to pity the parting of husband and wife and the cow mourning the loss of her calf. The whole of nature, great and small, human, animal, vegetable and mineral, the seen and the unseen, came within the range of the capacious imagination of Lucretius. In its comprehensiveness of view, the poetry of Lucretius reminds us most of Walt Whitman, the representative poet of American democracy; but, whereas the American poet's wide surveys of nature are generally a series of unconnected pictures, the descriptive passages of Lucretius are bound together into the organic whole of his great argument, of which they form an integral part.

Although, to be properly appreciated, they should be taken in their connection with the context, the beauty and pathos and power of many of these fine passages of Lucretius may be clearly recognised even when they are read as isolated extracts in a book of selections, nay even when stripped of their solemn metre and reproduced in the form of a prose translation. Take, for instance, the pathetic description (ii, 352—366) of the cow bereft of her young. The poet is insisting upon the manifold variety of the forms of natural objects, a fact that Leibnitz attached much importance to many centuries later, and proves it by the fact that mothers can distinguish their offspring even among the lower animals. Munro's rendering of the passage is as follows:—

"Thus often in front of the beauteous shrines of the gods a calf  
falls sacrificed beside the incense-burning altars, and spirts from its  
breast a warm stream of blood; but the bereaved mother, as she  
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ranges over the green lawns, knows the footprints stamped on the ground by the cloven hoofs, scanning with her eyes every spot to see if she can anywhere behold her lost youngling : then she fills with her moanings the leafy wood as she desists from her search and again and again goes back to the stall pierced to the heart by the loss of her calf ; nor can the soft willows and grass quickened with dew, and those rivers gliding level with their banks comfort her mind and put away the care that has entered into her, nor can other forms of calves throughout the glad pastures divert her mind and ease it of its care : so persistently she seeks something special and known."—*Munro*.

As another specimen of the poet's descriptive power, and of the vividness of the illustrations he brings into his arguments, let us take the following (ii. 317—332), in which he first gives a pastoral sketch of a flock of lively sheep and then a magnificent picture of the pomp and circumstance of war, in order to show how violent motion, seen from a distant point of view, may give the appearance of perfect rest, a fact illustrated in Hindu philosophy by the swift torrent, which seen from a distance, looks like a motionless mirror. Here are Lucretius' illustrations of the same fact—

" Thus often the woolly flocks, as they crop the glad pastures on a hill, creep on whither the grass, jewelled with fresh dew, summons and invites each, and the lambs, fed to the full, gambol and playfully butt ; all which objects appear to us from a distance to be blended together and to rest like a white spot on a green hill. Again, when mighty legions fill with their movements all parts of the plains, waging the mimicry of war, the glitter then lifts itself up to the sky and the whole earth round gleams with brass, and beneath a noise is raised by the mighty trampling of men, and the mountains stricken by the shouting reecho the voices to the stars of heaven, and horsemen fly about, and, suddenly wheeling, scour across the middle of the plains, shaking them with the vehemence of their charge. And yet there is some spot on the high hills seen from which they appear to stand still and to rest on the plains as a bright spot."—*Munro*.

I should like to have space to quote also the famous description, modelled on the Greek tragedians, of the sacrifice of Iphigenia (i. 84), which may be compared with the narrative of the same mythological story in Tennyson's *Dream of Fair Women*. Then there is the description of the tranquil life of the Gods, the chief touches in which are copied from Homer's Elysian fields (Od. iv 566) and not impaired in the copying. The best idea of this fine descriptive passage (iii, 17) may be obtained from the paraphrase of it in Tennyson's *Lucretius*, where we read of the Epicurean

" Gods who haunt  
The lucid interspace of world and world,  
Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind,  
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,  
Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans."

However, the fine passages we have quoted or alluded to,

and the many more and far longer passages of great beauty and descriptive power that we have not room to quote, are not the chief elements in the greatness of the poem of Lucretius. In order that a poem may claim to be a great poem, something else is required beyond the most prodigal abundance of poetical grace and imaginative power. Such poems as Keats's *Endymion* are exquisitely beautiful, but not great. No poem is truly great unless it is pervaded by a glow of strong passionate feeling, which is as necessary to sustain the flight of a great poem as the furnace is to supply the motive power of a steam engine. This supreme element of poetical greatness is conspicuously present in Lucretius, who throws into his verses a passionate love of truth, a passionate sympathy with the sorrows of mankind, and an enthusiastic awe and admiration for nature, such as is nowhere else to be found in ancient poetry, and only finds its parallel in such modern poets as Shelley and Wordsworth. These strong feelings, by the power of his genius, he can express and communicate to his readers, who are thereby constrained to acknowledge that Lucretius' poem on the Nature of Things is one of the few great poems that have appeared since the first dawn of literature.

It must be remembered that the force of these remarks and their application to Lucretius is not invalidated, though his views of man and nature should be proved to be fundamentally erroneous. Scientific truth cannot be used as the criterion of poetry. A modern astronomer, or Roman Catholic, may freely recognise the greatness of *Paradise Lost*, although the former knows the falseness of the Ptolemaic system, on which Milton's grand picture of the universe is based, and the latter thinks that St. Thomas Aquinas more truly expresses the relation between God and man than the Puritan poet. Lucretius himself, in spite of his entire denial of the possibility of a future life and the horrors of Hell, would probably have been the first to recognise the sublimity of Dante's *Inferno*. Therefore, while strongly affirming the greatness of the poem of Lucretius, we need not, from any fear of being reproached with inconsistency, hesitate to admit that it contains many speculative errors. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? Considering the wonderful advance that has been made in man's knowledge of nature in modern time, by methods of careful observation and experiment little known and seldom practised by the ancients, how could we expect that a scientific treatise written before the Christian era should be in accordance with the latest discoveries of the nineteenth century? It is not surprising that many of the physical theories of Lucretius are demonstrably wrong; but it should excite our wonder that, in his doctrine of the plurality of worlds, and in his remarks upon

heredity, and in his elaborate and brilliant account of the evolution of society, he anticipated some of the most striking results of recent scientific speculation. His whole poem is full of the modern idea of the indestructibility of matter in spite of its transformation, and proclaims the reign of law, as opposed to the alteration of the course of nature by capricious deities. Of his special anticipations of modern scientific thought, the most remarkable is his account (v. 837—877) of the conditions under which some species have survived and some have died out :

"In the case of all things," he tells us, "which you see breathing the breath of life, either craft, or courage, or else speed, has, from the beginning of its existence, protected and preserved each particular race. And there are many things which, recommended to us by their useful services, continue to exist consigned to our protection. In the first place the fierce breed of lions and the savage races their courage has protected, foxes their craft and stags their proneness to flight. But light-sleeping dogs, with faithful heart in breast and every kind which is born of the seed of beasts of burden, and at the same time the woolly flocks and the horned herds, are all consigned, Memmius, to the protection of man. For they have ever fled with eagerness from wild beasts and have ensued peace, and plenty of food has been obtained without their own labour, as we give it in requital of their useful services. But those to whom nature has granted none of these qualities, so that they could neither live by their own means nor perform for us any useful service in return for which we should suffer their kind to feed and be safe under our protection, those, you are to know, would lie exposed as a prey and booty of others, hampered all in their own death-bringing shackles, until nature brought that kind to utter destruction."—*Munro*.

"I do not see how any writer of to-day could express more clearly Darwin's doctrine of the survival of the fittest and of natural selection, to which, in the case of domestic animals, he rightly adds the selection of species useful to man. These anticipations, together with his keenness of observation and his argumentative power, increase our respect for his intellect, and give his work a scientific interest. On the other hand, however many speculative deficiencies may be pointed out by a modern scientific critic in the poem, its excellence from a poetic point of view remains unaffected.

It is the same with the religious, or, if you prefer so to call them, the irreligious views expressed throughout the poem. It must be admitted that they not only give a low idea of the divine nature, but are inconsistent with each other. Lucretius' soul was full of sympathy for human misery, and attributed the greater part of the misery of men to their wrong ideas of the gods, and to their consequent fear of death and the other world. Now, it is undoubtedly true that many men have been rendered miserable by the fear of death. They are haunted by the feelings on the subject expressed by Claudio in *Measure for Measure*—

Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;  
 To lie in cold obstruction and to rot,  
 This sensible warm motion to become  
 A kneaded clod, and the delighted spirit  
 To bathe in fiery floods or be bound up  
 In thrilling regions of thick ribbed ice !  
 It is too horrible !

Probably Lucretius himself brooded over the idea of death, and attributed the same dread to the world in general. But he, no doubt, immensely exaggerated the strength of the fear of death and of the fear of punishment in the next world. Bacon takes a true view of human nature when he condemns the ancient philosophical idea of life being a continual meditation of death (*commentatio mortis*), as derogatory to the dignity of men, and teaching them to fear that which most of them can face with equanimity. As he well remarks, "there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death. Revenge triumphs over death ; Love slights it ; Honour aspireth to it ; Grief flieth to it ; nay, we read, after Otho the Emperor had slain himself, Pity (which is the tenderest of the affections) provoked many to die, out of mere compassion to their sovereign !" However, it is possible, that, in the time of Lucretius, the fear of death was more overwhelming than it is in modern times. Certainly the most abject expression of this fear comes soon after his time from the great minister Mæcenas, who prayed for life even if he were maimed in hand and foot, humpbacked, and placed on the cross. Lucretius rightly and wrongly attributed to mankind generally, in his time, similar cowardice as to their prospects in the other world, and one of the chief aims of his teaching was to dissipate this fear. His consolation was his doctrine of the mortality of the soul. He taught that, as the soul is unconscious and non-existent before our birth, experience indicates that it will be the same after death. An unconscious state, as is proved by the instance of a sound sleep and by the nature of the case, is not a state of misery. Therefore we have no reason to fear that death will be a state of misery. Our state of non-existence before we were born was not one of dreadful pain, and, as Lucretius in his grand style puts it to the men of his time : "As in time gone by we felt no distress when the Carthaginians from all sides came together to do battle and all things, shaken by war's troublous uproar, shuddered and quaked beneath high heaven, and mortal men were in doubt whether Rome or Carthage was to be mistress of the world, so we shall feel no distress in the future when we cease to be." (iii 832—842).

We are carried away for a time by such lofty reasoning as this, but the convincing effect is not permanent. Even if we make such a large concession as to accept his proof of the

mortality of the soul, his consolation, though logically unanswerable, is practically useless. The vast majority of men are, after all, not strictly logical beings, and, in spite of reasoning, shrink with fear and trembling from the idea of annihilation, so that the argument of Lucretius, however well intentioned, only leads them out of the frying pan into the fire. Nevertheless, though his views, when thus analysed, leave us poor mortals as helpless and blind as ever before the great mystery of death, how grand and impressive as poetry is the long passage at the end of the third book in which the subject is discussed; how infinite is the pathos that he throws into his sympathetic survey of human life; how vividly he realises the comfort needed by the dying man who says to himself: 'Now no more shall thy house admit thee with glad welcome, not thy dearest wife and sweet children run to be the first to snatch kisses and touch thy heart with a silent joy.' The high strain of poetry so long sustained exalts the soul of the reader for the time above all earthly fears, and like noble music may be described in the words of Milton as not wanting power

to mitigate and swage  
With solemn touches troubled thoughts  
And drive anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow and pain  
From mortal and immortal minds.

So that, after all, the poetry effects what the reasoning failed to effect, and what all reasoning would fail to effect, the extinction of the fear of extinction.

Much the same may be said of Lucretius' account of the nature of the Gods, whom he represented as living in a state of utter blessedness, free from the trouble of governing the world. This cheerless idea has given the world the fine descriptive passage Tennyson's rendering of which has already been quoted. Lucretius is not, however, consistent in his account of the divine nature. The care for human affairs and the government of the world that he refuses to allow the Gods, he assigns to Nature, "governing Nature," as he sometimes calls her, which is only another name for divine Providence. Also, in the very beginning of his poem intended to prove the careless, do-nothing life of the Gods, he introduces an address to Venus as the source of life and peace. Such inconsistency will be readily pardoned, as it gives us one of the finest passages of Latin poetry, 'the rich proœmium which made the glory of the goddess of love fly along the Italian plains in lays that would outlive her deity.'

The frigid Epicurean conception of the Gods taught by Lucretius, in spite of the poetic grace with which their distant heaven is invested, is but a picture, and nothing more. It has produced little or no effect on the future of

human thought. What has produced effect in the religious teaching of Lucretius is his invective against the evils of superstition, which he personified as a huge monster in the skies, hanging over the heads of the human race. In his vivid description of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, he raised the standard of implacable revolt against every form of priestly cruelty, whether it took the form of human sacrifice, Sati, Vaudois' massacres, torturing of Jews, burning of heretics, drowning of witches, or the more refined forms of persecution practised at the present day. The well remembered and often quoted concluding line of the passage

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum

has been like a sharp-edged sword supplied to the armoury of those who, from the beginning of the Christian era or earlier, have, with Sir Thomas More, Akbar, Bentinck, Malabari and Lord Lansdowne, maintained by word and deed the principle that the shield of religion must never be allowed to protect cruelty, or any other practices opposed to the great moral law.

MICHAEL MACMILLAN.

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#### ART. VII.—THE BRITISH HOUSE OF LORDS.

**I**N a recent number of the *Calcutta Review* an attempt was made to sketch the early history of the House of Commons. It was there shown that the English Parliament was originally a council of notables selected by the king, in which the chosen representatives of the Commons only appeared in the character of suitors offering timid suggestions as to the assessment of taxation, or mildly soliciting the redress of grievances. Things have greatly changed since those simple times ; and we now see the so-called "Upper House" maintaining with difficulty a precarious life and a constantly-dwindling authority, while the Chamber of Deputies tends more and more to become the one autocratic power in the modern constitution. Election is prevailing over selection.

In such conditions it may be interesting to observe the manner in which the case appears to a well-informed and not unsympathetic Frenchman : a good foreign opinion, being free from personal bias, is not unlikely to furnish a fair forecast of the verdict of posterity. For this reason an article on the British House of Lords which appeared some time ago in the *Revue des deux Mondes* is not unworthy the attention of readers, in view of the probability of an early renewal of the later crisis. The author, M. Auguste Filon, is the son of the late Charles Filon, whose *Comparative History of France and England* appeared in Paris soon after the Revolution of 1830 ; and M. A. Filon—himself once a member of Louis Napoleon's household—has always been known as a friendly student of English life and institutions.

In the present essay he undertakes a useful correction of two not uncommonly received fallacies ; extensively spread, indeed, both abroad and at home. In concise, but sufficient, terms he points out :—

1st.—That the House of Lords is not fairly liable to condemnation on the charge that it is not "representative."

2nd.—That there is no reason why it should not be allowed—in certain cases—to enforce a dissolution.

1. As to the question of representation, the common idea of the British Upper Chamber that has come down from the past—and not on the Continent only—is of a hereditary council of territorial magnates separated from "the people" by birth, habits and interests, and—so the phrase is apt to go—"representing nothing but themselves." Hereditary the peerage, no doubt, is ; and M. Filon argues that this<sup>s</sup> is essential to the usefulness of the institution. But in

all other respects, as he undertakes to show, the common conception is opposed to fact. The modern House of Lords contains many men who hold landed estate, but this is rather a luxurious expense than a source of wealth; the vast majority of the Peers are of recent, if not plebeian, origin; they are as much a portion of the British people as any other class; and they represent one of the most important elements of the national life—its capitalised acquisitions.

If we will but candidly and carefully examine these positions, we shall soon see that they are usually hidden by the common sophistry of using words in different senses, altered from moment to moment without any warning. That a man's office should descend to his eldest son, with the estate which is its remuneration, is only a piece of administrative machinery by no means necessitating the existence of a caste; and we know, as a fact, that the Peerage does not form a patriciate in the British islands. Hence it is entirely unfair and illogical to assume—as is often done—a contrast, or antagonism, between "The Peers and the People," the Peers being just as much a part of the British people as the Paper-makers or the Plate-layers. It is only by tacitly taking "People" to mean the multitude that the supposed antagonism can be set up.

So, again, with "Representation;" the first thing is to assume that popular representation is only obtainable by election; but the moment one observes that this is not the original meaning and necessary sense of the word, that assumption breaks down. Reference of even the most superficial kind will show that to "represent" is only to *exhibit the sign or image of something else*; an envoy or ambassador represents his country to the foreign State to which he is accredited; and when the Members of the *Comédie Française* come to London, they are hailed as representatives of French Dramatic Art. In the same manner the Bishops, the Scotch and Irish Peers, represent, the former learning and religion, the latter the wealth and social leading of their respective kingdoms. But, argues M. Filon, that representation is none the less real because it does not arise from popular election; and the English Peers, or Peers of the United Kingdom, are equally representative; selected if not elected, and standing in the place, or as a sign, of success, of caution and of stability. Modern politics assign to every part of society its due place in the economy of the nation; why excommunicate those alone to whom the great portion of its prosperity has been due, and who hold—as the old saying was—"the chief stake in the country"?

(2.) The House of Lords being thus representative, M. Filon proceeds to ask, why it should not be a convenient organ for the process which amounts with us to *Plebiscitum*, or *Referen-*



*dum* ? These long Latin words mean only that some scheme is devised for ascertaining whether a particular House of Commons continues to be the true depository of the national will, or whether it has—according to the political slang of our day—“exhausted its mandate.”

That such a power must reside in some organ of the constitution is evident, unless the House of Commons is to usurp autocratic functions. Times have been when the country was utterly dissatisfied with its supposed “representatives ;” and, ever since the Septennial Act, such situations are become possible and even probable. The majority of any population is at least as likely to be wrong as right, especially in times of excitement ; and one of the fathers of the Great North American republic recorded a strong opinion against the dangers of an unchecked government by mere numbers. The doctrine of immediate obedience to the biddings of the majority came—thought Gouverneur Morris—from a confusion of ideas, and threatened terrible results : for the mere multitude in any community was apt to be swayed by gusts of passion and to desire to do things unjust and mad. [*Life and Letters* ; Vol. II, p. 451.]

Nevertheless, the deference to numbers is unavoidable, in our present conditions ; for it is only by this deference that recourse to physical constraint is to be avoided. The votes of the larger party—by whatever method taken—are an index to what its action would be if matters came to forcible decision ; and so the appeal to arms is discounted. But the danger foreseen by the Yankee statesman has still to be met ; and some scheme has to be provided which will ensure delay and discussion. On the other hand, it may well happen that the majority in a popular Chamber may be under the influence of passions from which the public out of doors is free ; and thus arises the necessity for some method of consulting the country when the elective Chamber is believed to exceed or exaggerate the wish of its constituents.

M. Filon goes on to enquire in what organ of the constitution properly resides the power of compelling such an appeal. Not in the Cabinet, surely ; for the Cabinet derives its power from the elective Chamber, and is dependent for existence on its support. It is equally illogical and unjust to confide the option to such a body, to which—in the case supposed—dissolution of Parliament would usually mean suicide. Still less to the Crown, which—since the Act of Settlement—can act only on the advice of its Ministers. For the Crown to take upon itself to dissolve of its own motion, would be to open a door for the most arbitrary and dangerous courses. It is in the nation at large that the latent power is to be sought ; several instan-

ces will be found, in modern Parliamentary history, of attempts to assert it. Thus, in 1701, a number of addresses were presented to King William III. praying for a dissolution, which—as is well-known—soon took place. The House of Commons upheld the proceeding by a vote affirming that “it is the undoubted right of the people of England to petition or address the king for the calling, sitting, or dissolving Parliament” [see the question treated fully in Lord Farnborough's *Constitutional History*]. Again, in 1769, the doctrine was officially reaffirmed by Lord Chancellor Camden; who laid down that “the right is absolute and unquestionable.” No contrary ruling has ever been recorded; yet we know well enough that the right is not and could not be now exercised in that exact way. Of all the means by which a national desire for a change of Parliamentary delegates can be now best effected, M. Filon sees none less objectionable than the Upper Chamber duly moved by public opinion.

What he contemplates is a case in which the Lords, in the exercise of that revising power which—except in the matter of taxation—is their constitutional office, have refused to pass a Bill sent to them by the Commons. In some cases—as where an organic change is proposed—they may reject the projected law altogether; but more usually the dissent of the revising Chamber takes the form of amendments. Should the Commons regard these as affecting the scope and principle of the measure, they will, of course, refuse to accept them. Two methods of conciliation—if it may be so called—are now open: the Commons can drop the bill, or they can invite a conference. According to the view of our foreign critic, a third, and a more drastic measure is in the back ground, if the Commons should insist on the bill being maintained in its integrity: the Lords have the power of bringing legislation to a dead-lock; and then the Cabinet is bound to dissolve.

If the country approved of the ministerial policy a new House of Commons would be returned, with an overwhelming ministerial majority, and the Lords must give way. This power, however, is not to be exercised save in an extreme case: the measure must be one affecting the Constitution; the Government majority must be small, and the public out of doors must have given signs, in the newspapers and public meetings, that it is not prepared to support the Ministry. Lastly, the power of dissolution ought to be employed only *once*, in any particular instance; and the decision of the country at the next general election must be accepted as *final*.

Something of this kind actually took place in 1831,

when the Lords rejected the Reform Bill after it had passed the House of Commons ; but the Lords felt that the country was hopelessly against them when the new House of Commons passed the Bill by a majority of 162 ; and they ultimately gave way in the following year. Obviously, in all systems where gradual and temperate change is preferred to cataclysm, some provision or other must be made in order that organic changes may not take place except after a due amount of deliberation. If there were no second Chamber, there must be means of interposition by royal veto, order-in-council, or plebiscitum. Our French observer finds in the House of Lords the most convenient form of "escapement" for regulating the wheels of the Constitutional machinery.

Nothing, however, can be further from his intention than either quackery or optimism. A Senate, or controlling Chamber—such as he holds to be necessary—ought to be a genuine *Witenagemote*, or "assembly of the wise," and Filon does not undertake to show that the House of Lords, as now constituted, answers to this ideal. He is, indeed, wrong in saying that absent peers can vote by proxy ; that abuse disappeared nearly twenty years ago. But an almost greater evil has taken the place of the exploded anomaly : a number of idle men of fashion can—and do—swarm into the House on rare occasions (after a long and habitual neglect of Parliamentary duties), to give a partial and passionate vote on a subject of which they know next to nothing. In this way the action of the House is discredited, and what ought to be a serious act of statesmanship assumes the air of a class demonstration.

In what direction the reform of the "Upper Chamber" should proceed, a foreign critic can hardly be asked to say. His part is played when he has shown the uses of the British Senate, and the advantage of a policy of "mending," over a precipitate and irrevocable "ending." As another foreigner long ago reminded us, it has been the happy privilege of Englishmen to spell "Revolution" without the "R."

H. G. KEENE.

## ART. VIII.—THE SHEVAROY HILLS.

IT is probably attributable in a large measure to the overshadowing influence of their statelier sisters, the Nilgiris, and in some degree to the neglect of the Local Government which has done remarkably little for their development, that the very name of the Shevaroy—or Shervaroy—Hills is hardly known outside the Madras Presidency, while, even from the neighbouring plains, the number of annual visitors to them is comparatively small. It is true, the hills have acquired an evil reputation for malarial fever; but experience seems to show that this, to a great extent, is undeserved. Though, moreover, Yercaud, the principal station, which is situated at an altitude of 4,300 feet, is within fever range, this is hardly the case with the summits of the Green Hills, which rise to 5,300 feet, and, with their extensive plateaux, seem eminently adapted for a summer resort for Europeans. Dr. Cornish, in his monograph on the Shevaroyes, published in 1870, speaks of four years since 1822, when they first began to attract attention, *viz.*, 1824, 1825, 1854 and 1860, as having been specially unhealthy. In the first of those years, Mr. England, an Assistant Surgeon on the Madras Establishment, who had been deputed to report on the suitability of the range for a military sanitarium, and Mr. McCosh, another Assistant Surgeon of the same Establishment, who was on leave in the hills, were attacked with fever and died within ten days of one another. A panic not unnaturally seized the European residents, who fled to the adjacent station of Salem, and Assistant Surgeon Fasken, who was appointed to take up Mr. England's work, submitted an unfavourable report, with the result that Sir Thomas Munro, then Governor of Madras, suspended the survey, and the project was abandoned.

Mr. Fasken does not seem to have himself suffered from fever; but he gives a curious and not very intelligible account of the climate. "The general sensation produced," he says, in language that reminds one of the effect of love on the page in Mozart's Opera, "is that of half heat and half cold, which is just sufficient to parch and dry the surface of the body, at the same time causing an uneasy sensation of chilliness within." On this Dr. Cornish remarks that, "instead of being disagreeable, there can be no two opinions as to the very pleasing influence of the climate upon the senses, whatever its ulterior effect may be." Mr. Fasken would appear to have been somewhat hard to please; for he complains also of the damp during the rainy season; but, as Dr. Cornish again remarks, though

this may occasionally be a source of discomfort, it is less severely felt than at Ootacamund or Coonoor.

Mr. Graham, the Medical Officer in charge of Salem, wrote In 1839, after six years' observation of the climate: "I have observed every year for the last six years, an epidemic accession of fever in May or June, according to the time of the first showers of rain, or preceding the South-West monsoon. Between these showers and the regular setting in of the monsoon, a space of from fifteen to forty days, obtains the period of the prevalence of fever, and which fever ceases when the rains are fairly established. It is to be presumed no medical man would recommend these hills as a place of abode during the period fever may be expected to prevail, but through the remainder of the year (fully nine months) experience warrants my saying that a resort to the Shervaroy Hills will be found of benefit in all those diseases for which the Nilgiris are found useful." Dr. Scott, on the other hand, who was Civil Surgeon of Salem for nine years, reports: "The climate was most salubrious and enjoyable, and in very many respects admirably suited for all classes of Europeans. During all that period there was no sickness of any serious nature endemic to the place, and actual residents, more particularly the Europeans who were well housed, enjoyed, in general, rude health. I always considered the Shervaroys well suited as a sanitarium for Europeans."

In 1854, however, cases of fever were numerous, and no fewer than seven deaths occurred among the European and Eurasian residents from this cause, four of these, it should be added, being of very young children. In 1860, again, there were several cases of intermittent fever; but this time there were no deaths. In every one of these instances, it may be remarked, the season was one of unusual drought, and most of the cases occurred in the month of May or June, facts which point forcibly to the drying up of the water-supply as the most probable cause of the malady. This is what the teachings of modern science might lead us to expect, and it is corroborated by the testimony of the European residents, among whom the practice of boiling drinking water is general. Dr. Cornish, indeed, speaks of the water of the principal spring in the Green Hills as being "chemically" pure, and of that of some of the wells as excellent. But his report was written before the days of bacteriology. I observe that the water of this spring is of a distinctly tawny hue, possibly owing to the presence of iron, and that, after standing for some time, it throws down a very fine black sediment, which, however, is probably harmless. The same fine black dust, it may be added, is deposited on everything exposed to the air in the house.

Dr. Cornish sums up the evidence as follows: "It is impossible to overlook the fact that a malarious type of fever does occasionally prevail on these hills; but it need not be the 'bugbear' which the public have made it. Granting that once in ten years the climate for a limited period may be insalubrious, we have said all that can be adduced against it. It is only of late years that the treatment of the diseases dependent on malarious poisoning has been well understood. Nothing in Indian medicine has been more satisfactory than the gradual diminution of mortality both in European and native troops since the more general appreciation of the powers of quinine in controlling malarious fevers. The Sherwaroy fever, when it does occur, is quite as much under the control of medicine as the same form of disease elsewhere. There are, perhaps, no localities in India altogether exempt from the causes of fever. The Neilgherry Hills, our favourite sanitarium, certainly form no exception to this general statement. Remittent and intermittent fevers, just before the setting in of the monsoon rains and after the first showers, are not uncommon there." And he adds: "In the hot season of 1860 (May and June) the regiment stationed at Wellington lost five men from remittent fever, whereas, although fever was prevalent on the Shevaroyes during the same period, no fatal case occurred." He, however, admits that the cold, or congestive, stage of a bad case of Sherwaroy fever is sometimes exceptionally violent.

To come down to recent times, I find that of four deaths reported to have occurred among the European and Eurasian population of Yercaud during the five years, 1892-96, only one put down to fever.

It would, perhaps, be premature for me, after a residence in the hills of only a few weeks, to express any opinion as to the "ulterior effects" of the climate. But I can emphatically corroborate Dr. Cornish's account of its immediate influence on the senses as "very pleasing." Indeed, I might, without exaggeration, use a stronger term, and call it delightful.

In the interval between my arrival, on the 12th April, and the date of writing (May 12), the maximum temperature inside the bungalow, with the doors open, has been 80°, and this has been reached on only three days, while the minimum observed, under the same conditions, has been 72°. It is true that, in the latter case, the time was 7-30 A.M.; but I doubt whether the minimum inside the house has ever been much lower than this during the period in question. A series of meteorological observations made by Major R. Hunter during the years 1865-66 give, for the former year, a maximum of 81° (in April) and a minimum of 51° (in January), with a maximum daily range of 19° (in January), and,

for the latter year, a maximum of  $82^{\circ}$  (also in April) and a minimum of  $48^{\circ}$  (in January, November and December), with a maximum daily range of  $25^{\circ}$  (in March), the rainfall being 62 inches in 1865 and 58·69 inches in 1866. Mr. Marrett, late Civil Surgeon of Salem, it may be added, gives  $70^{\circ}$  as the mean annual temperature of Yercaud. It will thus be seen that the climate is very equable, and so far accords with Mr. Fasken's account of it, that it is exempt from extremes of either heat or cold. It would seem, indeed, as Dr. Cornish suggests, to be specially suited to many classes of invalids whose ailments would be aggravated by the more severe cold of the Nilgiris, or of the favourite hill stations of Upper India, such as sufferers from rheumatism or disease of the liver, while dysentery and epidemic cholera are practically unknown.

The scenery of the Shevaroy's has been said to recall that of England. With the possible exception of Yercaud, with its shady lanes and miniature lake, I should compare it rather with that of South Italy, while, as we have seen, its climate is altogether unlike that of either country, the torrid heat of the Italian plains in summer and the rigours of an English winter being alike unknown. As to scenery, the views obtainable from the higher elevations are superb. That from my bungalow, which is situated on a slope of the Green Hills range, at a height of 4,500 feet, embraces not only the western portions of the Shevaroy's themselves in the foreground, but, in the far distance, to the South-West, West, and North-West, the Nilgiris and the Western Ghats; while in the middle distance stretches a vast expanse of plain, intersected by the shining Cauvery and studded in every direction with smaller hills. Some of these are considerable ranges; others are detached hills, many of them mere toys, and few are without some special charm of contour or colouring.

In the foreground, which, in most parts, is more or less densely wooded, a tender green is the predominant hue; other noteworthy features being the large proportion of such gnarled and twisted trunks as Salvator Rosa loved specially to paint, and a profusion of a white passion flower, said not to be indigenous, which everywhere embraces the tangled undergrowth, as in a net, and knits bush to bush and tree to tree. The more distant landscape presents certain striking analogies to that of the Doon and Sēwaliks as seen from Mussoorie, but far surpasses it in both extent and picturesqueness.

Geologically, the hills appear to be composed mainly of gneiss, with some granite in places, the surface being in most places thickly strewn with more or less rounded boulders of one or other of these materials, and some of the higher peaks being still capped with laterite.

Regarding the latter, however, Dr. W. King says : " Upon the tops of the mountains there is a decomposition of the rocks going on, which is brought about by the coldness and moisture of the climate, and the result is the formation of a lateritious rock, or a hardened ferruginous sandy clay of a red or reddish brown colour, something like laterite. This rock is not laterite, however, such as is known to occur on the West Coast, or at the Red Hills near Madras, &c. The latter is a regularly deposited aqueous rock, having been carried originally from a distance; while the lateritious rock of the Kollumalays, Shevarovs and Neilghiries is one which has been formed on the spot, or nearly so, from the decomposition of the rock *in situ*. . . . The hornblendic varieties of gneiss in such localities have become decomposed to a certain extent, whence the iron and apparently new rock has been formed; or the ferruginous clay has been washed down for short distances by the rains, and has become hardened over the rock or gravel on which it lay. Very often the folia, or remains of layers of the more durable quartz, are still left in the derived rock; the other constituents of the original gneiss having become changed into the constituents of the lateritious rock." And, again, in a note : " I have written thus particularly concerning the lateritious rock, because people are often led astray by the misapplied term ' Laterite.' For instance, the hardened ferruginous clay on the Shevarovs is often called laterite, and the consequence is that the patches of decomposed gneiss (lateritious rock) occurring there, are taken as evidences that the greater part of the upper surface of those hills was once covered with a layer of true laterite. There is no evidence, however, to show this, the so-called ' laterite ' of the ' Green Hills ' being merely decomposed gneiss."

Extensive stretches of land fit for the plough, as might be expected from these conditions, are few and far between; but everywhere, between the boulders and in the hollows, are patches of dark, generous soil, which, *pace* Dr. King, seem to me to be eloquent of denudation in the remote past, and, in which, there is little reason to doubt, most of the fruits, vegetables and flowers of the semi-tropical and tropical zones could be successfully cultivated. Among fruits that have been ascertained to flourish, and are grown to a certain extent by the European residents, are the mango, the apple, the pear, the peach, the plum, the strawberry, the orange, several kinds of lime, the guava, the loquat, the tipparee and the pomegranate; and both soil and climate seem eminently adapted for the culture of the olive, the mulberry and the grape. As far, however, as I can discover, not one of the last three has been tried, and the only product grown on a commercial scale is coffee, of which there



are numerous plantations. Though these still yield a fair return, I am told that, owing to the gradual impoverishment of the soil, which has necessitated the more liberal use of manure, they are less remunerative now than they formerly were.

Dr. Cornish complains somewhat bitterly, in his monograph, of the slovenly way in which a large number of the coffee plantations are cultivated. Some of them, particularly those of Mr. Fischer, he says, are kept in very good order. "But most of them are over-run by noxious weeds, balsams, and a white passion-flower. A better system of culture, including the use of manure and careful pruning, would doubtless tend to the production of heavier crops. Some planters appear to have fallen into the error of supposing that it is better to cultivate 100 acres badly than half the quantity well. It is no wonder, under such circumstances, that what should be highly cultivated land is almost more obnoxious to the salubrity of the climate, than the uncleared jungle."

The complaint is echoed by Mr. Le Fanu, the compiler of the Salem District Manual, who expresses a hope, both on this and on economic grounds, that no more land will be granted for coffee-planting, at least for the present. The policy thus advocated does not, however, appear to have commended itself to the Madras Government, who, with doubtful wisdom, have recently opened the Forest reserves to coffee, under certain special conditions. As in the case of ordinary waste lands, the cost of survey and demarcation is paid by the applicant. The lease of the land for thirty years, subject to an annual rental of Re. 1, and renewable for a further period of thirty years at the same rent as that paid for similar land in the neighbourhood, is then put up to public auction, and sold to the highest bidder. Before entering into possession, however, the purchaser is required to pay the value of the timber on the reserve; he is debarred from using more than 10 per cent of the land for building, yards, garden, grazing or other purpose than coffee cultivation, and he is required to spend not less than Rs. 30 per acre per annum on the latter cultivation, under penalty of a fine of Rs. 20 per acre, and to keep accounts of the cost of cultivation, and submit them, when required, to the Collector. Ten per cent of the purchase-money is payable cash down, and the balance either within thirty days, or in three annual instalments.

The area under coffee, which, when the District Manual was written, in 1883, was 4,784 acres, is, according to the latest returns, submitted by the planters themselves, only 3,762 acres, while the area taken up for coffee is 11,272 acres. This area, it may be added, is divided into no fewer than seventy-seven different estates.

The average yield per acre of matured plants was put down by Mr. Le Fanu as 500 lbs., and he considered the average expenditure to be greatly over-estimated at Rs. 130 to Rs. 150, according to the most recent official returns ; however, the total production is 943,839 lbs. which gives only about 251 lbs. per acre.

The total acreage occupied by the Malialis, or hill-men, of whom something will be said presently, is 9,158, of which 8,134 acres are under cultivation, and 1,025 are waste.

The undeveloped state of the hills is probably due, to some extent, to the scantiness of the supply of water available for irrigation, in the dry season. But there is evidently more water than is utilised for this purpose in ordinary years ; and, judging from the general appearance of the country, I am inclined to think that want of enterprise has quite as much to do with it. The population, it is true, is very sparse, and labour is proportionately scarce. But I know of no reason why labour should not be imported—if not from other parts of the Madras Presidency, then—from some of the congested districts of Bengal.

A special interest attaches to the indigenous population of the Shevaroy Hills, owing to the tradition which traces their existence as a distinct community to what in India is a somewhat rare phenomenon—a revolt against priestly tyranny. Their ancestor, so runs the story as told by themselves, was one Peria, the eldest of three brothers, who, to escape Brahminical oppression, migrated, some ten generations ago, from Conjeeveram. Peria, it is said, settled in the Shevaroy, where his descendants still call themselves, after him, Periamalayalis, while one of the remaining brothers went to the Kolymalai, and the third to the Pachai-malai Hills. The critical reader will probably be disposed to ask how it happened that the three brothers separated, under circumstances that seemingly pointed so strongly to the desirability of united action. The difficulty would be removed if it were known that they started with a numerous following ; unfortunately, however, on this, as on every other point connected with the history of the migration, tradition is silent. It may very well be that, as in the case of many other traditions of the same order, Peria and his brothers are the ex-post-facto creations of a subsequent generation. But, whatever doubt may attach to the details of the story, it is, in some measure, corroborated, in its main features, by the fact that the Malialis of the Shevaroy Hills, while plainly of Hindoo origin, refuse to the present day to accept the ministrations of Brahmins.

The following particulars regarding them are taken partly from the account of them given by Dr. Shortt, in his "Hill Ranges of Southern India," and partly from the replies ob-

tained from the people themselves to certain ethnographical questions officially circulated, some two years and-a-half ago.

The Maliayalis form a single caste without sub-divisions. Each village has its own headman, called a gounden, whose business it is to call the punchayet when disputes arise regarding property, or women, or when it is proposed to outcaste a member of the village community; and each *naad*, or group of villages has a pattakaran or guru, who presides at marriage ceremonies and car festivals. The head-man is paid no salary, but gets an extra share of the food when a feast is given; and the pattakaran receives a small fee in money and kind from the bridegroom.

The women tattoo themselves, and both sexes are specially fond of scarlet cloths and bright colours. Their ornaments, which comprise ear, nose, finger and toe-rings, bracelets, anklets, chains and trinkets strung together, consist chiefly of gold and silver, the former often set with precious stones. No particular ceremony is performed either on the birth of children or on their attainment of maturity. The betrothal of males may take place at any age, and frequently takes place comparatively late in life. In that case, says Dr. Shortt:—

A man, on setting his affections on a girl of his own or an adjoining village, gains the compliance of her parents with a present of from 10 to 14 rupees, the pattacara's consent having been previously obtained, as without that no marriage can take place, and the girl and her parents would refuse their consent to the proposal. On the day appointed for tying on the marriage symbol, or *thallee*, the pattacara arrives with beat of tom-toms, music, &c., at the house of the bridegroom, where he blesses the thallee and gives it to the husband, who ties it round the neck of the bride; goats, pigs, and fowls are slaughtered to feed the people. On the third day, each proceeds to his own house, and the road taken by the pattacara and headman of the village is hung across by garlands of green leaves. The marriage day, and place where it is to take place, is fixed by the pattacara, the object being to bring off as many marriages as he can on the same day; thus he saves himself the trouble of going from place to place, and secures his own fees in a large sum. The fee is ten rupees, if the party is rich: if not, it is proportionally less; sometimes a poor Malliallie, who is unable to pay a fee, casts himself down at the pattacara's feet with some betel-nut, &c., when he is married free. The marriage dowry varies according to circumstances. If the party be rich, money and grain has to be given. The grain is *shamel*, and is given in *cundacums*: a cundacum is equivalent to eighty Madras measures. Seven cundacums, with three rupees twelve annas in cash, must be given. A person in middling circumstances gives his dowry in money or grain according to his circumstances. The poor generally pay at the time only a portion, whilst the remainder of the dowry is paid by yearly instalments, and instances have come to my knowledge where the son was paying by dribs and drabs the dowry due by his father when he married his mother. Should an elderly man marry a young girl, he has to pay a much larger dowry than would be required of a young man.

Girls, on the other hand, must be married before they reach their tenth year, or be satisfied with the position of concubines.

The death of a man is announced by the firing of guns ; the corpse is carried on a litter to the place of burial, and placed in a shallow grave, the litter being left on the spot ; and on the third day the grave is visited and milk and water sprinkled over it. Occasionally, Dr. Shortt adds, the corpse is burned, and during epidemics it is hurriedly thrown down a precipice.

In habits the hill-men, or mallialies, are described as exceedingly indolent. They nevertheless appear to be self-reliant, and produce everything they require, except cloth, on which, however, they spend very little. They are greatly addicted to the smoking of tobacco, and eat the flesh of all the animals commonly used for food, except the cow, which they regard as sacred, as well as that of the monkey (*hanuman*) to which they attribute great healing virtue ; but they live chiefly on vegetables. When their cattle die, they will not touch or approach the carcass, and they will not touch a cow hide, or use it as rope for their ploughs. Some of them are in great repute as cow-doctors and can set a broken leg very well. They have, or had, till the coffee-planters came, no intoxicating drinks. Felling jungle, procuring materials, building huts picking coffee and grazing cattle, were, at the time referred to by Dr. Shortt, the only work they would undertake.

Disputes are usually settled by arbitration ; but sometimes this fails, and then recourse is had to the Civil Courts. Theft is said to be rare among them.

Polygamy is sanctioned by custom, and is commonly accompanied by concubinage. Infidelity on the part of the wife is regarded as a trivial matter, hardly worth noticing, and seldom causes dissension. At the same time, Dr. Shortt, not quite consistently, says that, should a wife prove faithless, the husband claims her dowry from the father-in-law, and is thus enabled to get another. "Should a man wish to marry a widow, it is compulsory on her part to accept him. If a woman leaves her husband to live with another, the husband complains to the pattachara, who convokes a meeting of the principal men of the village to investigate the circumstance. The seducer is fined, the amount divided among the principal men present, and the wife brought back to her husband, who is content to live with her if she will remain. It frequently happens that such occurrences are not noticed until years after, when the husband will claim not only his wife, but every child she has had by her paramour. Frequently the husband, either from apathy or other cause, leaves the faithless wife to her choice ; or the seducer, through influence with the pattachara, is able to prevent investigation, and live unmolested with the woman he has seduced." Dr. Shortt also says that the re-marriage of

widows is permitted, and generally takes place on the 15th day after the husband's death in the usual way ; but this does not appear to be now the case.

Property devolves on the male children only, and, if there is no male issue, goes to brothers or other parceners.

Their villages commonly consist of from fifteen to twenty huts, built in a circular form, on a plateau or slope of the hill, the walls being made of split bamboo, daubed with clay, and the roof being thatched with grass. The eaves extend two or three feet beyond the inner wall, between which and the outer wall, similarly constructed, calves, kids and poultry are kept.

They are fond of animals ; rear cattle, goats, pigs, dogs, cats and fowls, and are also ardent sportsmen, even the women joining the hunting expeditions on holiday occasions.

• Their religion, says Dr. Shortt, somewhat vaguely, is that of the generality of the Hindoos, a god or goddess presiding over each village, and the goddess of smallpox, Ramasawmy and Kurreah Ramen being their chief household deities.

They believe in good and evil spirits. Every old tree is believed to be the habitation of some evil spirit, and when they fancy themselves molested by it, they will destroy the tree by cutting and burning. They also believe in the transmigration of souls. Their temples and cars are rude structures. A few stones saturated with oil, and having a few red or white spots daubed on them, are placed in the former. The chief one is on the Shervaroyen, and is dedicated to *Shervaroyen*, otherwise termed Ramasawmy, and votive offerings of rice and milk and fruit are made to it every Monday and Saturday, and once a year a great gathering takes place for the same purpose. During Pongol each year, which usually happens on the 12th of January, they hold what they call *Yerroodoo attum*, or bullock dancing, in each of the principal villages, when the pattacara is generally present. On such occasions by 11 A.M. of the day the village is filled with men, women and children in their holiday costume, from the surrounding villages, when one from among the most ferocious of the village cattle, which they have previously selected and enclosed into the putty, is led out, care having been taken to have the animal well secured previously with stout coir ropes some fifteen inches in diameter, and between twenty and thirty yards in length, held on by a few men on either side, when some of the most daring, and others of a comical turn, are selected, who dress themselves some with flowing hair, others having their hair tied across the face, holding long bamboos, to the end of which is tied a black goat's skin, and on the bull being led to the village green, where the men follow the bull by shaking the goat's skin in its face, the bull becomes frantic with rage; and rushes at its annoyers, but its movements are restrained by the men who hold the animal : this is continued for some time ; the people are amused at the rage of the animal and the antics of the men, and as the bull becomes exhausted, it makes way for a fresh animal. Whilst this is going on, the men go about the women, cracking jokes with them. This lasts as long as there are animals to produce afresh, and as it begins to grow dark, they then turn their attention to a feast, the visitors spend the night with their friends, and return to their houses the next morning.

In 1869 the Malialis of the Shevaroyes were estimated to number 7,300 souls, the figure for the males slightly exceeding that for the females. At the last Census the total population of the hills was about 11,000, from whom probably about 1,000 may be deducted for other races or castes.

Having dwelt at such length on the advantages of the Shevaroyes, it is only fair that I should say something of their drawbacks. In the first place, then, there is no bazar in Yercaud, and, though a market is held there twice a week, it is extremely ill-supplied, from a European point of view. As a matter of fact, for country stores, with the exception of such perishable articles as meat, bread and milk, the residents chiefly depend on a functionary called a "supplier," who turns up once a week, generally on Saturday or Sunday, from the neighbouring station of Salem. Butter, of fair quality, comes twice a week from a dairy at Bangalore; bread, which is exceedingly dear and not very good, is sold in Yercaud, where there are two bakers—one a European and the other a Mahomedan; and so is meat, which is far from good, though it is sold at the same rates as meat of the best quality in Calcutta. Though there are several butchers in Yercaud, my experience is that, when I order beef, I oftener than not get mutton; that sometimes, though not so frequently, when I order mutton, I get beef, and that not seldom I can get neither. Fowls are somewhat cheaper, and no worse, than in Calcutta. Eggs, on the other hand, though sold nominally at the same price, really cost from two to three annas a piece, ten out of twelve, on the average, turning out bad. Milk, which is sold at the rate of six bottles (four seers) for the rupee—London price—is poor in quality, but not, so far as I have discovered, tainted with smoke, as it generally is in Bengal. For European stores there are two small shops in Yercaud; but their stocks are somewhat limited.

Labour, as I have already said, is extremely scarce, and it is impossible to procure coolies to carry a chair, or dandy, without sending all the way to Salem for them. The only other means of conveyance obtainable in Yercaud is a "push," or small chaise, drawn by a pony which appears to be on its last legs, especially the hinder legs, and requires to be assisted down even the most gentle descent.

It remains to say something regarding the flora and fauna of the hills. I have already mentioned incidentally the principal fruit-trees that are cultivated. Among the field-crops grown by the natives are wheat, mustard, several of the millets, gram and two or three other pulses, mustard, chillies, onions, torai, the egg-plaut and a poor kind of potato, all in small quantities. The most striking of the indigenous trees and plants are enumerated by Dr. Cornish as two species of *Rubus*, two species of *Berberis*, *Solanum giganteum*, *Sonchis oleraceus*, *Eriochloena Hookeriana*, two species of *Gnaphalium*, several species of *Crotolaria*, *Physalis*, *Strobilanthes* and *Alsophila*.

Besides the white passion-flower,\* already mentioned, *Pteris aquilina*, or bracken is very conspicuous among the undergrowth, sometimes forming more or less extensive thickets, and growing to a great size.

No fewer than forty species of fern are said to be found on the hills. Those I have so far come across are *Alsophila*; *Adiantum caudatum*; *Pteris aquilina*; *Pteris quadri-aurita*; *Asplenium varians*; *Asplenium exiguum*; *Polystichum aculeatum*, two varieties; a *Cheilanthes*; *Lastrea odoutoloma*; a *Davallia*; a *Pleopeltis*, and two or three others that I have been unable to identify. But my search has been confined to the sides of a mile or two of the public road between Yercaud and Nagalore, and the season for ferns is not yet.

The flowers most commonly cultivated are the *Geranium*, single and double, especially the scarlet variety, roses and fuchsias, all of which—especially the first two—flourish exceedingly, as, no doubt would a large number of other flowers; but Dr. Cornish's remark that horticulture does not appear to have been much attended to of late, remains as true to-day as when it was written, whether as regards the flower, or the kitchen garden, while aboriculture, whether useful or ornamental, is almost entirely neglected. Not only are visitors and a large proportion of the residents dependent upon Salem for even such necessary vegetables as the potato, for which soil and climate are particularly well adapted, but, though such fruit as oranges, limes and apples, all of which travel well, would command a ready market in Madras and Bombay, the admirable opportunity offered by these hills for their culture is turned to no account, except in a few cases for private consumption.

Among the fauna of the hills, Dr. Cornish mentions the tiger, leopard, bear, bison, wild hog, jungle sheep, mouse-deer, hyena, jackal, hare and jungle-cat, to which I may add the mungoose and Palmyra squirrel, which abound. As he says, however, the tiger is rarely, if ever, seen. Of the avi-fauna, the most common are spur and jungle-fowl, woodcock, rock pigeon, green pigeon—less common—, snipe—not indigenous to the hills—, green barbet, and most abounding of all, the ubiquitous bulbul. Kites are numerous, while the crow, on the other hand, owing, no doubt, to the sparseness of the human population, is comparatively rare.

Among reptiles, the *Daboia viper* and *Echis Carinata* are said

\* Dr. Cornish says that the fruit of this passion flower, the fleshy envelope of which is sweet but juiceless, is eaten by jackals, and its seeds thus scattered far and wide. The same animal also has the reputation of greedily devouring the ripe fruit of the coffee-plant, digesting the outer pulp, but excreting the berry; and the berries thus voided are said to be specially prized by connoisseurs as superior in flavour and aroma to those cleaned by the usual process.

to be common. So, I am told is a harmless green snake. The Cobra is found, but does not appear to be very common, and Dr. Shortt speaks of the Coluber Blumenbachii as attaining a great size. Brown and black scorpions are very numerous, especially the former, one of which, measuring eight inches from tip to tip of claw, was killed in my sitting-room a day or two after my arrival. Lizards, too, abound, especially a large variety with black or dark grey belly and orange or yellow back and shoulders.

It may be added that the Shevaroy Hills, which are divided into two groups by the valley of the Vániár, are about sixteen miles in length and ten miles in greatest breadth, and have been variously estimated to contain from forty to a hundred square miles of surface. Being only a little more than 200 miles from Madras, they are somewhat more accessible from that city, and consequently from Calcutta by sea, than the Nilgiris. They are most conveniently reached from the Salem or the Kadiampatti Station on the Madras Railway. At the former place there is a good refreshment-room; and carts, called jhatkas, available on short notice, take travellers and their belongings to the foot of the hills, the ascent of which is made on ponies, or in chairs or canvas stretchers, carried by coolies. Kadiampatti is considerably nearer than Salem to the central parts of the range; but travellers to the hills who propose to start from that station must give two days' notice to the Salem "supplier" of their wants in the shape of carriage, and no refreshments are procurable there.

Yercaud boasts no fewer than four places of public worship, three Protestant and one Roman Catholic. Of the former, one is a Church with a resident clergyman of the Church Mission Society, chosen and partly supported by the residents; another, is under the auspices of the London Mission, and a third is maintained by the Leipsic Lutheran Mission. There is also a Danish Lutheran Mission and Church at Assambur in the Green Hills. The other public institutions of Yercaud are a Post and Telegraph Office, a Deputy Tahsildar and Registrar's office, a Police Station, a Sub-Jail, a Hospital with a Hospital Assistant, a Chattram or Serai for Hindoos, a similar institution for poor Europeans and Eurasians, a Travellers' Bungalow, where, however, the accommodation is of the roughest kind, and the Victoria Club, with library and reading-room, membership of which is distinct from that of the Club. The Club building is provided with a stage, and the library contains about a thousand books. There are also two hotels and a private boarding-house in the station.

Dr. Cornish tells us that he was unable to ascertain the number of the European and Eurasian population of Yercaud;



and I have been equally unsuccessful. In the census returns, strange to say, while the numbers of the people according to religions and education are given, the equally important distinction of race is ignored ; so that, while we learn from them that, out of a population of 1,365 in Yercaud, 681 are Christians, we are left wholly in the dark as to their nationality. The Collector of the district, however, informs me that he estimates the European and Eurasian population at about 200. If he is right, it would seem to have increased considerably during the last thirty years, as Dr. Cornish estimated it at not more than half that number at the outside.

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#### ART. IX.—THE INDIAN EYE ON ENGLISH LIFE.

THE contemplation of ourselves as others see us is commonly believed to be an exercise of a peculiarly salutary description ; and there is probably no country in the world which stands more in need of this form of discipline than Great Britain. But in order that the lesson should not fail in its effect, it is essential before all things that the criticism should be just, and that the censor should not only be endued with penetration and sympathy of no common kind, but should be able, either from long residence in the country or by natural kinship, to view things from the standpoint of the people themselves. He must, that is to say, be able to comprehend what Rudyard Kipling calls the "inwardness" of things before he attempts either to laud or to condemn them. The hasty impressions formed during a twelve-months' residence in a country widely different from his own, by a writer of an alien race, whose customs, religion and modes of thought are essentially different from—often opposed to—those of the people among whom he is sojourning, are, for the most part, necessarily imperfect and crude. And, being frequently one-sided and obviously dictated by long-standing prejudice and deep-rooted sentiment, the lessons they are intended to convey fail to strike home, and fall harmlessly aside.

To say that Mr. Behramji Malabari was somewhat imperfectly equipped for his task when he sat down to record his views on the English at home in "The Indian Eye on English Life," is only to endorse what he himself tells us in his preface, in which he seeks to disarm criticism by the modesty of his pretensions, and the avowed consciousness of his own shortcomings in the matter of "maturity of experience, or soundness of conclusion." If it should occur to anyone to enquire why a writer who cannot pretend to these qualities should venture into a field where they are specially requisite, it may be answered that he did so for his own amusement during a brief holiday ; and, under these circumstances, it may be thought he would be a churlish critic who should bring all his batteries to bear upon the result.

Since, however, Mr. Malabari occasionally adopts a tone which seems to belie the humility of his pretensions, and further, "claims to hold friendly conversation with Englishmen on the one hand and Indians on the other," no apology is needed for taking him at his word. It must not be forgotten that he starts on his wanderings not merely as a pilgrim, but as a reformer, and it is in the latter character that he most reveals himself in

the pages of the book before us. He selects London for his observations, as being at once a "Mecca for the traveller in search of truth," and, apparently, the place most in need of improvement—not, however, neglecting to take notes by the way. It is not, perhaps, surprising that the first thing that claims his attention as an abuse is the European mode of eating. This, seen for the first time on board the steamer which carries him from his home, fills him with amazement, not unmingled with disgust, and he waxes sarcastic at the expense of his companions at the dinner table. "From the way in which Europeans eat their dinner," he remarks, "one would think they were going to starve for a week after. As they eat, so they drink, making a provision against a fast which, however, never comes."

His feelings on this subject are intensified when, soon after arriving in England, he has the opportunity of observing the average Briton eating his dinner in his own house, and he accuses us—not altogether without justice—of a want of imagination in the matter of our cookery.

"In no respect, perhaps, does the average Englishman show himself so slow of imagination and wanting in taste as with respect to his daily food. He eats what his fathers ate before him. Bread—ham or cheese; an egg by way of variety, with black tea or coffee; these seem to form his breakfast twenty-five days out of the month. His lunch may be a mere apology; and for dinner he will have beef or pork, or fish with an odd potato or a slice of cabbage, all boiled separate. He may have roast beef now and then, or a little fish. He is a heavy eater, and enjoys the meat or cheese that appears to a stranger to be hardly fit to look at. He may have soup and German sausages, if he can afford them; pudding, custard, pie, and other side-dishes on a holiday. The better informed and better-to-do class seem to have borrowed French dishes, and imported French cooks. Indian dishes, rice and curry, for instance, with chutneys and condiments, are struggling into favour. But as a rule the Englishman's dinner is plain and monotonous to a degree. The cook knows nothing of proportion in seasoning his food; knows little of variety, and has a rough, slovenly touch. The cookery is often worse than the materials, which may be seen any day hung up at the shops; carcasses of large animals and small, beef, veal, pork, mutton, ducks, geese, rabbits, chickens, all dressed and ready for use. The sight is invariably unpleasant, and the smell is at times overpowering if one happens to be near the shops. It is an exhibition of barbarism, not unlikely to develop the brute instincts in man. I wish the people could be induced to go in more for vegetables and fruit, for grain, pulse, and other cereals. There would be less alcoholic drink necessary in that case, and a marked improvement both in their habits and appearance. A beginning seems to have been made in this direction by vegetarian hotels and restaurants. But what little I have seen of their culinary out-turn is far from satisfactory. Not until they learn how to draw the people by a variety of well-seasoned dishes will they compete successfully with the roast beef of Old England." Why don't they employ Indian-cooks for a time? Anglo-Indian ladies ought to set the example to their sisters.

The English are heavy eaters as a rule. I have never had a regular dinner with friends while in England, being unaccustomed both to their hours and their dishes. But I have had to put in an appearance at lunch or breakfast, to catch a friend about to leave town. On one such occasion I see a company of poets, philosophers, and fanatics at table, presided over by a young lady, the daughter of the house. I sit there, wiping my forehead (they do the eating, I the perspiring) as I see slices of beef disappearing, with vegetables, mustard, etc. I am pressed to join, but pretend to make a horrified protest. The host then asks me slyly what I think of the food and their mode of eating? I reply instinctively, "It is horrible." The reply sets the gentleman roaring, and my hostess blushing. But I could not help saying what I feel. How can a little stomach hold such an enormous lunch? Even women and children take large quantities. What vitality those people have, to be sure! The waste of vitality in their climate, and under their conditions of life, must be equally enormous; and it has, of course, to be replaced.

It is not only the quantity, but the manner of eating as well, that puzzles and sometimes frightens me. Men and women eat freely at shops, in the street, train, bus, or railway carriage. There is an absence of delicacy and deliberation about the matter, at which the grave Oriental may well lift his eyebrows. Bismillah! How these Firanghis do eat! Oysters seem to be the ambrosia of adult invalids, as sponge cakes are supposed to be that of children in trouble. Nor is it a pleasant sight to see women devouring pork, bacon, beef, ham at restaurants, with the usual accompaniments. Many of them send for these things every day for dinner. I suppose it is easier and cheaper perhaps to do so. But how much better for themselves and their families if they knew how to cook a simple meal at home? The existence of so many hotels, restaurants, and tea shops seem to me to be destructive of the home life of the people. It may destroy the very idea of home, if it does not also dry up the spring of family affection."

The cynic has often declared that the shortest road to the affections lies through the stomach: and Mr. Malabari, from this last passage would seem to be of the same opinion. It presents us with a new aspect of the question of dining; and the people of England will learn with surprise that they are so much given to the practice of dining abroad as to jeopardise the very stability of their home life. There is probably no more home-dining people in Europe than the inhabitants of Great Britain; and the great multiplicity of restaurants, tea-shops, &c., in which the writer sees a menace to the "spring of family affections," are mainly supported by business men engaged in the City; by women, who, being occasionally obliged by the exigencies of shopping or other occupations to be absent from their homes all day, find it convenient to resort to them for their lunch or their tea, as the case may be, and by others of both sexes who have, from one cause or another, no home life to be destroyed. Our reformer has mistaken the casual customers who, perhaps, do not dine away from their own houses more than once or twice during the

year, for regular patrons of the very useful establishments the existence of which he so much deploras.

It is impossible to avoid an inward sense of satisfaction when Nemesis, in the form of an insatiable hunger, overtakes the detractor of the British appetite. "I never felt," he says, "such a sensation of hunger as I have felt at times in England. During my travels in India I could live for days on a few biscuits with milk. In summer one hardly cares for solid food in our country. Quite different is my experience of an English summer. I find that I cannot do my work, that I feel feverish and miserable all over. It is not a matter, as in India, of the sinking of your stomach or its sticking to your back; it feels as if you had no stomach at all. You are driven as chaff before the wind. Practically, hunger in England is as keen as thirst in India."

It is not for nothing, then, that the English eat heartily, and often. Surely after this Mr. Malabari must modify his unfavourable impressions, and excuse, if he cannot admire, what he appears to have regarded at first simply as gluttony. And if it brings home to him the danger and injustice of judging a hungry Englishman by an Indian standard, and creates a doubt in his mind as to whether, after all, the slender vegetarian diet so dear to him in his native land, would be efficacious in preventing such an one from being driven "like chaff before the wind,"—then his hunger will not have been in vain.

But if Mr. Malabari is repelled by our habits at the table, he has very little but admiration to bestow upon our women, and does not fail to recognise the powerful influence for good they exercise over our social life. Although he does not seem to have quite made up his mind, as to the comparative merits of the Indian and European views regarding the social position of women, but vacillates, in a somewhat perplexing manner, between the two, it is evident from various passages in his book that he believes that the East has much to learn from the West in this all-important matter. And he has the courage of his opinions. He does not hesitate to speak his mind to his own countrywomen; and, if at times he appears to be a trifle inconsistent, it may be forgiven him for his obvious sincerity.

He is early struck with the fact that "woman is a presence and a power in Europe." And the revelation is accompanied by the somewhat bitter reflection that "in Asia woman is a vague entity, a nebulous birth absorbed in the shadow of artificial sexuality." This seems a hard saying, but Mr. Malabari ought to know. He accounts for the generally good behaviour of a British crowd, whether in a conveyance, at a railway station, or in any other public place, by the presence

of women in their midst. But seemingly he considers that the gain of this to the community at large is purchased at the expense of the women themselves, for a little further on he tells us, referring to the numbers of women, of all ranks and of all ages, who are to be met walking, on business intent, in the streets of London, that "for me it is a sight more striking than attractive. After all, a woman's place is at home rather than in the street." He forgets—or, perhaps, he does not know—that in England the home frequently depends for its very existence on the energy of its several members, male and female; and that it is to her refusal to merge herself entirely within its narrow limits that the English woman owes that freedom and independence which he admires so much, and which saves her from the possibility of ever being mistaken for a "vague entity."

In common with many other pilgrim reformers, Mr. Malabari sometimes jumps to conclusions on very insufficient data, and invests accidental or wholly trivial acts with some deep significance which they are not intended to bear. As, for instance, when describing a scene at a railway station, he says, speaking of the women in the crowd: "How they walk, and talk, and carry themselves generally? How they rush in and out, saying good-bye with the right hand turned towards themselves, *meaning* what our women in India always say, 'vehela aujo,' come back soon! How they kiss one another, and offer their children, even their cats and dogs, to be kissed by the friends departing! Does this last ceremony show heart-hunger, or is it affectation?" We venture to doubt the cats altogether; and would reply to his question that it is neither "heart-hunger" nor "affectation" which prompts the lifting up of the dogs to be kissed by the departing guest. The act is probably inspired by nothing more serious than a spirit of frolic and fun—silly and objectionable, maybe, but by no means indicative of any such deep-seated emotion as he imagines. The custom of holding the right hand turned towards one to signify a desire for the speedy return of the traveller exists—as far as we know—in the fertile imagination of Mr. Malabari alone; and the implication that it is a usual one among us is as surprising as many other of his statements.

He visits the various shops where women are employed, and is filled with indignation and pity. When, however, he expresses his sympathy with the London shop-girls who are "hungering for a kind look, a kind word, which they seldom get," and apostrophising them as "poor, weary, ill-paid drudges," goes the length of wishing, for their sakes, "that the law allowed of infanticism at the birth of girls like you," we are irresistibly

driven to paraphrase Portia's comment on a somewhat analogous sentiment, and exclaim—the girls "would give you little thanks for that if they were by to hear." Ill-paid and weary very often they undoubtedly are; but there are compensations in life even for them, and it is doubtful whether the worst paid or the most weary among them takes quite so pessimistic a view of her existence as he does for her. It is gratifying to find that, on the whole, the manners of the fair portion of the travelling public commend themselves to their critic by their "modesty and candour." It would, perhaps, have been too much to hope, for the credit of our country, that he would entirely escape the misfortune of falling, at some time or another, into questionable company. That he did not miss this unpleasant—but, from a traveller's point of view, instructive—experience altogether, is shown by the following ingenuous description of what gentlemen are liable to be subjected to in the London omnibus:—

"You have sometimes the misfortune of having women beside you, with a trick of leaning on your arm or shoulder when they are quite capable of supporting themselves; of giggling, of laughing a dry hollow laugh, or of trying otherwise to draw you out of yourself. The conductor, entering into your feelings, or reading them in your face, may announce—Room up top, Sir; or you may yourself get out before time."

"But," he adds magnanimously, "why recall such experiences amid so much that is beautiful and true? Let it be forgotten, like an evil dream."

On the delicate subject of the personal beauty of our countrywomen in England Mr. Malabari does not hesitate to speak freely; and those among them who are indebted to nature alone for their charms, have no cause to complain of any want of gallantry on his part.

"Who," he asks, "can give a definition of beauty, acceptable to all men and all races? One has but few opportunities of coming across the ideal of beauty he has set up for himself; and then, ten to one, he will not find it in busy London town. Photographs and pictures may not satisfy him. But he can see some very pretty faces, indeed, accompanying slight elastic figures. What strikes me about these faces is their extreme mobility. You may find the owners in almost all the tragic and comic moods conceivable, in the course of a single day. The other style of womanly beauty, that sometimes cheers your eye, is the Greek face and bust, with a stately figure. On the whole, however, there seems to be more of made-up beauty in London than perhaps in most parts of the world. Life is artificial to a degree. Time hangs heavy on those who have no earnest purpose to live for. There is plenty of money with which to buy a few patches and shreds of personal adornment every day. This is to be seen amongst the higher as well as middle classes. But it must be remarked in passing that whether natural or made-up, an English woman is decidedly attractive—her healthy looks, elastic step, and general freedom of movement

the outcome of a free mind, adding vastly to the attractiveness of her dress. The white and red of the skin may be as much a matter of blemish as of beauty, while a combination of regular features is very rare. It is the fresh looks and the free healthy motion of the body that give Englishwomen their peculiar charm. These advantages are pushed to an extreme by professional beauties whose make up, sometimes hiding grave defects, costs an amount that might feed scores of the hungry and clothe as many of the naked. These are the languishers, as a set-off to the so-called mashers. They are so delicate in nerves that they will shriek and faint at sight of the very distress which their extravagance tends to create or to intensify. And when old age is on them, what a sight they present, these beauties of a bygone day! It is a sight, pathetic in the very falsehood of attire and demeanour.

But for every ten of this class, there are hundreds and thousands who prefer the simplicity of natural grace. These are the truly gracious, infinitely more interesting as a type of beauty. Perhaps the most noticeable thing about some of them is the character of their eyes. They are beautiful eyes, looking you full and straight in the face. Used to the languid, downcast look of the Eastern eye, one feels a strange sensation coming over him as he meets the look of an intelligent high-born Englishwoman. This is not at all a look of boldness, but of earnest sympathy and self-confidence. The English love to present you a clean, soft, shapely hand. But they cannot boast a good set of teeth, as we can. The men smoke and drink too much, and the women partake too much of injurious food, for that. They seem to me on the whole to be defective both in the shape of the ears and in the sense of hearing. The weather has, doubtless, something to do with this latter defect. But as a rule, they have pretty noses; but hist! whither are we wandering."

To judge from the following declaration, it would seem that Mr. Malabari, like many another brave man, found himself unable to resist the blandishments of the young and pretty hospital nurse, whose powers of fascination have been so much deprecated by a recent writer in the *Nineteenth Century*. It does not appear—notwithstanding his half-expressed wish—that her professional services were ever requisitioned on his behalf, so that it was simply by the natural charm of her appearance and the becomingness of her attire that she contrived to lead his imagination captive. He concludes some generally complimentary remarks on the dress of the ladies in England, with the statement, that for him "the most pleasing dress is that used by the lady-nurse, of some dark material with snow white linen tucked under the chin, and running round the neck. One feels as if he would like to be ill, just a little, to bask in the sunshine of this bright and healing presence. Health and innocence follow thee, good sister!"

But what apparently appeals to him most is the beauty of English home life, about which, although he declares it to be practically a "sealed book" to the Indian, he has a great deal to say. He draws comparisons between it and that obtaining in India, and sums up, it will be generally felt, in favour of the



former. He illustrates his meaning by a little story of his own experience :—

One evening I call upon a friend rather unexpectedly, on my way back from another. He is not at home, but his sister receives me very kindly and shows me her "Indian treasures." In less than half an hour my friend turns up, and is greeted with the playful remonstrance :—"You bad, wicked boy, what have you been doing with yourself? Here is an old friend waiting for you. Now go off at once and get ready for tea. I am sure you do not deserve it." "I am sorry," replies the laggard meekly, kissing his pretty little caretaker, and extending his hand to me, "but I did not know he was coming." If this is not home, I say to myself, watching the happy pair, there can be no such thing as home on earth.

How fond these people are of playing at papa and mamma! The husband greets the mother of his children as "mamma," returning home after the day's toil to find the inner circle gathered expectant round the hearth, as the wife advances to relieve "papa" of his topcoat or the packet under his arm. This is very different from India: though, curious as it may seem, a Parsi wife sometimes addresses her husband as "mamma." For an Indian household the approach even of father or husband is often a signal for fluttering disappearance of the fair ones from the parlour. In the case of strangers the exit is, of course, more precipitate. Often have I scattered the ladies in a friend's drawing room, like chaff before the wind, dropping the book or the work-box as they fly, sometimes leaving a pair of tiny slippers behind, as if to reproach the intruder for walking in unannounced. Ah me! when shall we have a real home in India? Poor, indeed is the Indian in his mother: poorer still in his home.

He gives it as his opinion that—

"The home life of England is decidedly happier than one may be inclined to think, taking a surface view of the lower strata only. At any rate, they have a much wider extent of actual happiness than we have in India. On the other hand, actual misery, though limited in area, is certainly more keenly felt here. Marriage is not the be-all and end-all of existence: nor are children, male or female, the only means of salvation and the only object of earthly felicity. This ideal has its drawbacks, especially where the units of society become too much absorbed in self; but its advantages are obvious and manifold. There is more leisure in England for public work at home, or patriotic enterprise abroad; more freedom, more self-respect for individuals. Men and women may live free of the domestic fetters, and are none the worse for such life, if regulated on high principle.

Married life begins much later than with us, and amongst the better classes seldom without adequate provision for the future. The parties have a larger capacity for appreciating the duties, as well as the privileges of married life. English children show a quicker growth of body and mind than children in India. Boys and girls are trained from infancy to a sense of self-reliance. They are generally fit to be so trained. In a word, the English enjoy a larger, freer, healthier life than we do. We have glanced incidentally at a few sharp contrasts between married life in England and that in India. One more contrast may close this section appropriately. In India, the little husband brings his wife, less than himself, to the paternal roof; and there, under its umbrageous shade, they grow into man and woman, father and mother. It is a parasitic growth, more or less, and perpetuates what we call the joint family system. In England, husband and wife set up a house for themselves immediately after marriage.

The wife will not live with her husband's friends, though the husband may, in certain cases, live with his wife's parents. The mother-in-law of England is despised by her daughter-in-law. In India, the mother-in-law is dreaded as no earthly power is ever dreaded."

Here he takes the popular view of the position of the mother-in-law, who has in all ages and in all countries, been made the butt of the wit and the satirist, and, with the novelist, the bogie-woman of the domestic circle. But, as in the case of most popular presentments, it is only partially justified by fact. The English wife frequently regards her husband's mother not only with sincere affection, but with admiration and esteem, and the cases in which she is looked upon with contempt are the exception, and not, as Mr. Malabari seems to think, the rule. That the picture he draws of her Indian prototype is a true one, it would be presumptuous for us to doubt; and we cannot but see in it one of the strongest arguments against the Zenana system which places young women completely under the tyranny of their own sex, than which no despotism could be harsher.

He very fairly contrasts the two systems without attempting himself to judge definitely between them.

"The results of the two customs," he says, "pushed to extremes in both cases, are self-evident. In England, the separation caused by marriage is likely to blunt filial as well as parental instinct; whatever the Englishman may say to the contrary, In India, the living in-and-in weakens all independent growth. As in other concerns of life, so in this, the reformer will have to suggest a golden mean between the two extremes."

He is much impressed by the influence for good exercised by the English mother over the education and moral training of youth:—

"The life in a decent English home is a life of equality among all the members. This means openness and mutual confidence. Wife and husband are one at home, however different their creed, political or religious. They love, trust, serve each other as true partners, each contributing his or her share to the common stock of happiness. The children stand in the same position with the parents as the latter stand to each other. There are, no secrets, and therefore no suspicion on the one hand or reserve on the other. Mother and daughter live more like sisters; father and son more like two brothers. The parent is as slow to assert his or her authority as the child is to abuse his or her freedom. The education of the heart begins very early, almost while the child is in arms. Then begins the physical education, followed after an interval by education of the mind. And how natural is the system of education! how pleasant the mode of imparting it! It never wearies or cramps the recipient.

All this is different from India. The mother must assume her true position before a country can enjoy happiness or honour abroad."

But when it comes to the case of infants, the Indian mother

scores over her western sister. The sight of baby taking the air in a perambulator, in charge sometimes of a nurse—sometimes of a mere child—either of whom is addicted to gaping in at the shop windows, or chattering to the passers-by, with a lofty unconcern for the welfare of the child, is certainly not an unfrequent one, and naturally has not escaped criticism. After denouncing the carelessness of the mother who allows her offspring to be subjected to this kind of treatment, Mr. Malabari affirms that “these sights are impossible in India.”

It is not to be wondered at that, seeing the honourable position which women generally occupy in England, he should have been struck, on visiting Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral, by what seems to him a strange injustice. Among all the monuments and tablets in honour of the illustrious dead, he looks in vain for one erected to the memory of a woman; and he pertinently enquires whether it is not “too late now to deny that there have been women in England who are worthy of a place side by side with some of their illustrious countrymen?” There can be only one answer. It is undoubtedly an anomaly that among the many women who have been famous in art, literature, philanthropy, and even science, not one should have been recognised as deserving of the same posthumous honours as are bestowed upon her male compeers; and it is a reproach that may be commended to the early attention of the advocate of the cause of women.

With regard to our modes of travelling, Mr. Malabari shows distinct preference for the omnibus and the hansom, regarding the underground railway with a horror which will probably be shared by many of his readers who will readily understand his dislike to the “dark, damp, smoke-laden tunnels.” Whether, however, those who have had an opportunity of judging will endorse his remarks on the comparative merits of bullock-travelling in India is a little doubtful. “For really enjoyable travelling,” he says, “give me back my bullock cart, starting at 3 A.M., halting at 9 A.M. for rest to man and beast, resuming the journey for another five hours—the traveller chatting, laughing, singing with the driver, in all of which the bullocks sometimes seem to take an intelligent part. That is life sober, to the drunken existence of your railway traveller.” It is a pretty picture. But an Englishman in England would have to undergo some very remarkable change before he would be got to believe in the virtue of rising at 3 A.M., in order to travel at a leisurely pace for eleven hours almost at a stretch.

Of the climate of England, as might have been expected he has not much to say that is favourable; although from his description of the weather during the summer he spent there, one is inclined to think that he was specially favoured in this respect, and to accuse him of unreasonableness.

"The weather in England," he remarks with some justice, "seems to be an odd mixture of all the weathers the world over. From extreme cold to extreme heat, with all the intermediate stages—snow, hail, frost, with the East wind eating into your marrow, the heavy, murky, fog-laden atmosphere, and an occasional glare of the sun that burns into the sockets of your eyes. You have to stay here a twelvemonth to get a surfeit of each of these changes. With all the natural and unnatural varieties of weather at home, it is strange the English should be so eager for change of weather abroad. They appear to be blessed with more changes than one every week. There is a goodly assortment of damp, wet, sooty air for the sanguine pleasure seeker, goodly enough to set Diogenes grinning in his tub. Then the delicate invalid may have his choice of cold or damp, or of half-toasting and half-freezing, at the domestic hearth; whilst the butterfly of fashion may take a wide range between thunder and lightning, with a dash of perpetual drizzle. The worst of it all for a sojourner from the sunny East is that these changes take place without warning. There is no notice given, as to us in India, to take down or hang up the umbrella which is here a necessity of your nature, as you sally forth to take an airing or to return a friendly call. In less than ten minutes you may find the roads covered with pools of slime, produced by a shower. If you stand, you find your dress coat badly small-poxed in a minute, so great is the rush of carriages. If you run, you are not unlikely to come into closer contact with the slime aforesaid."

But when, after this, he tells us that, as a rule, "May is a good month. June is perfect, when London looks like a paradise. July and August are perhaps as good as May," it is not easy to see what he has to complain of. The traveller may consider himself in luck who, going to England for a year's holiday, happens on a summer three months of which are "good" and one is "perfect," and it is difficult to follow Mr. Malabari when, after reading the above, we presently come across a passage in which he ridicules the Englishman's appreciation of his weather, and declares that he never saw a whole day in London that could honestly be described as "fine." Has he already forgotten the "perfect" June and the other "good" months? He complains of the damp and the wet, and in this even the most enthusiastic Londoner will sympathise with him; but, when he speaks of the "dribbling days of summer" which "abound all the year round," the expression seems to need some explanation. It is not usual for summer days to abound all the year round.

Mr. Malabari would be an exception to the generality of travellers in England if he had not a good word to say for the policemen. As a matter of fact, he waxes quite affectionate over him, and does not hesitate to draw a comparison between him and the already much abused Indian "Parawala" which is anything but flattering to the latter:—

"The policeman," he says, "yclept constable by courtesy, is, as a rule, a burly fellow, with a grip that he could tighten round a run-

away pig. He walks up and down his beat, always on the look-out for something to happen. In fact, he anticipates trouble. Is not that his business? He is paid for preventing mischief more than for punishing the mischief-maker. He is as quick as the cabman, as cool as the 'bus-driver, as well versed in topography as both of them put together. He regulates the traffic, chaperons damsels in distress to the corner opposite; sometimes a bevy of them whom he gets to hang breathless on his arm (the artful doogger!). When there is a congestion in the thoroughfare, or a collision ahead, the policeman simply raises his finger, and the whole traffic in the locality comes to a standstill. From prince to peasant, driving or on foot, none dare to make light of the policeman's danger signal. In a minute he will move the finger this way or that, for the anxious pedestrians to rush out; and then he drops the finger or the hand, which means line clear for the general traffic. Verily, that man has the lion's strength; but he uses it not as a lion. As regulator general of the street traffic, he exercises his authority with such tact and temper that it is often a pleasure to obey him. Even the fat coachman, driving his gilded coach of luxury, takes his warnings kindly. He is tender and forbearing towards children, whom he leads gently out of a *mêlée*. How like a mother he walks the little trotters out! Courteous to women, and attentive to all; advising as to where you can have a cab or a 'bus for your destination, what you are to pay, how you can do the distance in ten minutes on foot, or take the train. Throughout my experience, I have come across no more than two policemen who were sulky; and one of them, I believe, had the spleen. The rest I have known to be pleasant and obliging; sometimes too much so. Once in the thick of a Piccadilly crowd, I asked a policeman to put me in the way of going to New Burlington Street. Hardly had the words escaped me when he whisked me through the surging crowd, and landed me safe on the opposite pavement, my clerical coat, chimney-pot and all. Before I could recover from my surprise and disgust, he muttered, "Here you are, sir; keep straight till you come to the turning." He had no time to enter into an explanation, because he was going to hold up his digital flag signal. That was a feat for Bobby, for, though only five feet two, if once I plant myself on a spot it would take more than one horse to drag me away from it.

Dear old Bobby; roughly tender in your attentions to all in need seldom losing your temper, though distracted by a score of tongues at a time, or your presence of mind amid the confusion and clatter of a hundred feet! What a contrast you are to the stupid, peevish, insolent Parawala in India!

If I were a girl, I would prefer a London policeman for my knight rather than a Bond Street merchant, whatever the ladies may say to that. As it is, I am prepared to exchange any three officiating priests in India for one London policeman.

To the average London shop-keeper, however, he is not so complimentary, and would appear to have come across some rather uncommon specimens of the class. When he tells us that "the best way to deal with an English rough who is inclined to be vicious, whether at the shop or in the street, is to knock him down before he has the chance of serving you the same way," we are puzzled as to whether he is speaking metaphorically or whether he has actually been called upon to assume this truculent attitude. Remembering that he is

a man of small stature—his height in India being five feet two inches, and in England, when he wears “elastic braces,” only 5 feet 1½ inch, it is perhaps safe to conclude that his advice is not born of actual experience ; but it is liable to be misunderstood and is therefore dangerous.

The English, as a nation, have the reputation for being undemonstrative and reserved, but firm and sincere in friendship. It will probably come upon them as a painful surprise that Mr. Malabari considers them wanting in this respect. They will, however, perhaps be consoled for this unexpected blow to their self-esteem when they learn that he has no better foundation for his opinion that “an Englishman’s friendship appears to be as fickle as his weather,” than his experience when soon after landing in England he seeks to enlist the sympathy and assistance of prominent public men in his scheme for the improvement of the position of women in India. The gentlemen whom he approaches are polite enough to ask him to dinner and to listen to his arguments. In one or two cases they are imprudent enough to make promises, which they are either unable to perform at all, or perform so tardily, as to put Mr. Malabari to the trouble of importuning them for their fulfilment ; and for this he, speaking generally, proclaims the Englishman to be insincere, and brings against him the astounding accusation that, in London at least, he cannot find time to save a friend once he is “down in the muddy waters of life.” Mr. Malabari should learn to distinguish between the ordinary courtesy extended to a stranger, and *friendship*, which is a very different matter ; and seeing that he apparently meets with hospitality and kindness among us, the remark savours somewhat of ingratitude. A man must spend more than a few months among a people before he can venture to bring against them sweeping accusations of this description, and we venture to think that, had he remained in England as many years as he did months he would have found occasion to modify his opinion.

Limitations of time and space make it impossible to follow Mr. Malabari throughout his entire pilgrimage. As becomes a true reformer, he walks the streets of the modern Babylon with open eyes and, on the whole, an open mind, in search of knowledge ; seeing apparently, much to admire and still more to condemn. He moralises as he goes ; and if he occasionally tilts at windmills in mistake for giants, and is a little given to generalising from single instances, it would be unjust to him to deny that he does also, now and again, lay his finger on some real blot on our civilisation. The hurry and scurry of the West, which leave men no leisure even to think ; the race for wealth and for the more material pleasures that wealth

brings, which is so breathless that the competitors cannot stop to consider whether the goal they have in view is even the right one, so keen that in the running they lose, almost unconsciously, that which makes life worth living, bartering their very souls for a mess of pottage; and as the outcome of these, the vulgar craze for notoriety as shown in the society journals, the photographers' shops, and in a hundred other ways; the absence of artistic feeling which permits of the squandering of millions of pounds on hideous placards and advertisements which disfigure not only our streets, railway stations and public conveyances, but are frequently obtruded on our notice in the midst of the grandest natural scenery—all these and many other of our failings, including drunkenness, which he considers the "curse of England," and smoking which he leniently describes as a small vice, have come under Mr. Malabari's observation, and form the text of lengthy sermons which, while admitting their partial justice, we occasionally find a little tiresome.

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## Art. X.—INDIA, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

**T**HE name India is borrowed by the Greeks from the Persians, who applied the word originally to the Hindus, or dwellers on the banks of the river Sindhú (from the root *Syand* "to flow"), the Sanskrit name for Indus, that great

Origin of the word  
"India."

natural boundary which arrested the progress of the Aryan emigrants from the high table lands of Central Asia to the plains of the Punjab in remote antiquity. The Persians, changing the letter *S* into *H*, called it, in the ancient Zend language, *Hend* or *Hind*. Hindustan, or the land of the Hindus, is thus derived from two words, *Hindu*, the name of a tribe, and *asthan*, a Sanskrit word meaning "abode"; the two words combined literally mean "abode of the Hindus." \*

And of the word  
"Hindustan."

The ancient Aryans called it Bharata Varsa.

The word, *Iduhus*, used in the inscriptions of Darius, has reference to the dwellers on the Indus. Old Chinese form of the word "Hindu." According to General Cunningham India first became known to the Chinese

in the second century before Christ, in the time of the Emperor Wati of the later Han dynasty, and they gave the name *Shintu* to the Sindhú, the *Yintu* of the Chinese being equivalent to *Hindu*, the derivation of the word being the same, Sindhú.

In the old Buddhist records of the Chinese, according to Samuel Beal, India is called *Intu*, or moon, from its brightness and glory in the spiritual firmament. Hieun Tsiang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim who visited India in the 7th century, writes of it:—The torches give light by night; the stars shine on the sky. Both impart light; but how different is that light from the brightness of the serene moon! The bright light of holy men and sages guides the world as a shining of the moon, and, as the light imparted from their guiding spirit has made the country eminent, so it is called '*Intu*.'

India is bounded on the North by the mighty walls of the Himalaya Mountains, among the Southern ranges of which lie the independent States of Bhutan and Nepal, and the principality of Kashmir; on the West by the Arabian Sea and the Safed Koh and Suleman ranges, connected with the Himalayas by the Khyber hills; on the East by the long spurs and chains of the Salwin and

\* The term is of the same class as Turkistan, Afghanistan, Belochistan, Feringistan (oriental name of Western Europe), or Faristan.



La Kiang ranges, across the newly conquered Province of Burma ; and on the South by the Indian Ocean.

The earliest Greek and Roman writers viewed India as an almost inaccessible region, separated from them by impassable barriers, extensive seas, remote countries, dreary deserts, and lofty mountains. The civilized nations of antiquity entertained grand notions of its extent and population, the fertility of its soil, the wealth and resources of its inhabitants, and the splendour and magnificence of its princes. The glowing accounts of its richness and affluence excited the ambition of the greatest conquerors and warriors of the then known world ; the religious maxims and sentiments of its sages, the abstinence and piety of its hermits and monks, and the strange manners and usages of its inhabitants, roused a spirit of inquiry among the philosophers of all ages ; while the richness of its fabrics, the choicest productions of human skill and industry, and the abundance and variety of its produce, have tempted merchants from the remotest parts of the globe to travel to its shores in quest of commodities, after undergoing the severest toils and hardships.

India was, thus, one of the earliest, civilized countries of its antiquity. the ancient world.

From the absence of its name in the holy Scriptures, it is surmised that the ancient Jews had no knowledge of India, the banks of the River Euphrates being known to

them as the 'ends of the earth,' yet the allusions to an extensive caravan route and a rich staple in 'precious clothes' clearly have reference to Indian trade, since no nation on the banks of that river was known to produce such rich apparel in those early times. There is no doubt, therefore, that India occupied a prominent place in the industrial arts in early ages.

That the ancient Greeks had knowledge of the existence of India as far back as the heroic times, appears from the fact, mentioned by Homer, that they used household articles of Indian origin called after Indian names, such as Kastira, tin, and elephas, ivory, though their idea of its situation seems to have been in no degree more definite than that entertained by the old Jews. Western scholars seem to agree that India had attained a high degree of prosperity before its invasion by Alexander, and the

Proof of its ancient civilisation. opinion they hold is amply borne out by the circumstance that, long before that historical event, the Greeks had travelled into the country in search of knowledge. According to Voltaire, it was in India, more than two thousand four hundred years

ago, that Pilpai, the great moralist of India, wrote his collection of fables and stories that have since obtained world-wide celebrity. For nearly two thousand years these stories have passed as a compendium of practical wisdom, and scarcely any book, except the Bible, has been translated into so many languages, whether in Asia or in Europe.\* It is interesting to trace the researches of Colebrooke, Wilson, Sylvestre de Sacy and Loiseleur des Longchamps as to the origin of this collection of fables and its spread in different languages in different forms. All agree in fixing the ultimate source in an old Indian collection in Sanskrit under the title of *Pancha Tantra*†. This is the oldest work in *Sahitya* (literature) extant in Sanskrit. The ancient Indians treated all subjects by way of fable or allegory from which a moral could be drawn for instruction, and hence it is that Pythagoras, the celebrated Greek philosopher, who spent thirty years in Egypt and India (about 570 B. C.) in studying the mysterious lore of those countries, himself employed this form of expression.

The Egyptians and Phœnicians the most ancient navigators mentioned in history, carried on their early operations in commerce in the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulf, and, having taken possession of the seaports on their coasts, they extended the sphere of their enterprise, and are represented as the earliest people of the West who opened communication with India by sea.

According to the division adopted in the Imperial Gazetteer, India consists of three well defined tracts. The first comprises the regions of the Himalayas‡, with a total length

The three regions of India.

\* The Sanskrit collection of fables was for the first time translated into the Pahlavi language under the Persian King Noushirvan (531-579) by his physician, Barsueh, under the title of *Kalela and Damena* (from the ox and jackal that take a prominent part in the first fable); into Arabic under the Kalif Abul Mansur (754-775) by Abdullah Bini Almokassa; into Persian by Vaez (about the end of the 15th century) under the title of *Anwari Suheli*, and into Turkish, about 1540, by Ali Chelebi, under the title of *Humayun-Nama*, or the Imperial Book.

From the Arabic of Almokassa, it was translated into Greek, in the 11th century, by Simeon Sethus; into Hebrew, in the first half of the 13th century, by Rabbi Joel; into Latin, in 1480, with the title of *Directorium Humanæ Vitæ*; into German by Escherhard I, Duke of Wurtemberg, with the title of *Examples of Ancient Sages* (1483); into Castilian under Alfonso X of Castille (1252-1284). The other European translations into Spanish, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Italian, &c., follow. There are also translations into the Malay, Mongol and Afghan languages. Several Arabic poets have paraphrased it in verse. An abridgment of the work is called *Hitopadesa*, which is better known than the original Sanskrit name *Pancha Tantra*.

† Proceedings of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I. *Pancha Tantra* literally means 'five wisdoms.'

‡ Literally, abode of snow, from the Sanskrit word *Hima*, meaning frost (Latin *Hiems*, winter), and *alaya*, a house. The Greeks call them *Emodus*, or *Imūs*.

of about 1,750 miles along the northern frontier, and a breadth from North to South of from 150 to 250 miles. The great mountain system of the Himalayas converges towards the Pamir table-land, and extends beyond the Indian frontier in the direction of East and West. The double mountain wall of the Himalayas, which forms a natural boundary between India and the Thibetan plateau, rests on the low-lying plains of India. The outer or southernmost of these walls culminates in Mount Everest, 29,002 feet, or nearly six miles, in height, and the loftiest measured peak in the world.

The second tract consists of a vast expanse of land which, stretching southwards from the base of the Himalayas, is watered by the Himalayan rivers. It extends from the Bay of Bengal on the East to the border of Afghanistan and the Arabian Sea on the West, and is called Northern India. The tracts are the richest and the most fertile and densely populated of all the provinces of Hindustan, and include the territories under the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, Assam, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Punjab, and Sindh, together with Rajputáná and other Native States.

The third region consists of a three-sided table-land, covering peninsular India, buttressed on the north by the Vindhya mountains and by the Eastern and Western Ghats. It includes the Central Provinces, Berar, Madras, Bombay, Mysore, with the feudatory States of the Nizam, Scindhia, Holkar and other dependent chiefs.

India, as comprised in the foregoing three divisions, has a length from the North to South and a maximum breadth from East to West,

both of about 1,900 miles. To this the English have recently added British Burma, on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. The whole territory contains  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions of square miles, and a population of over 289 millions of inhabitants, which is about equal to the area and population of the whole of Europe, less Russia, and about twelve times as large as that of the British Islands. The area, compared with all the land on the surface of the globe, bears the proportion of one to thirty-two.

The Himalayan range is the loftiest in the world, the passes across the mountains being about 17,000 feet above the level of the sea, and the height of the snow line being about 16,000 feet on the south side, and nearly 18,000 on the northern slope. They are twice as high as the Alps, with summits untrodden by man, and plains as wide as the sea, which stretch forth until lost in the horizon. The highest peaks in the Himalayan range, next to Mount Everest, are those of Kanchanjanga on the eastern

frontier of Nepál, Dewalgari still further west, and Jamnotri in Garwhal.

The Suleman range, with Tukhti Suleman for the highest point, 11,317 feet high, separates India from Afghanistan. The Aravalli hills, with Mount Abu, 5,650 feet above the sea, as their highest point, lie between the basins of the Indus and the Ganges. The Vindhya mountains form the Northern boundary of the valley of the Narbadda; the Satpura range lies between the Narbadda and the Tapti; the Western and Eastern ghats lie to the east and west respectively of the table-land of the Deccan.

The principal table lands are the plateaus of the Deccan and Málwa, each of triangular shape, the former being enclosed by the Ghats, and the latter bounded on the south by the Vindhya range. Sloping to the south-east is the plain of the Ganges, one of the most populous and fertile in the world. In the west, sloping towards the south, is the sandy plain of the Indus. On the east coast of the Peninsula is the broad belt of the eastern maritime plain, and, along the west coast, the western maritime plain, in a narrow strip.

North of the Vindhya Mountains, the country is drained chiefly by three large rivers, the Brahmaputra, the Ganges, and the Indus, all rising near each other in the heights of the Himalayas.

The Brahmaputra rises near the sacred lake of Mansarowar, and has a total length of about 1,800 miles. The current is rapid, and the river, unlike the Ganges and the Indus, is not used for the purpose of artificial irrigation.

The Ganges rises on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, and, after a course of 1,560 miles, enters the Bay of Bengal. Its principal tributaries are the Jamna and Gogra, issuing from the Himalayas, and the Soane from the Vindhya Range. Its other large tributaries are the Ramganga, the Gumti, the Gandak, and the Kusi, from the north, the Tors and Karamansa, from the south. The Chambal and Betwa, from the Vindhya, fall into the Jamna.

The Indus rises on the northern slope of the Kailas Mountain, and, after a course of about 1,800 miles, falls into the Arabian Sea. The five principal rivers of the Panjab, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej, enter the Indus by one channel, the place of their union being called Panjnad. The chief tributary of the Indus is the Cabul River.

The Luni drains the western slopes of the Aravalli hills. The Narbadda, with a course of about 800 miles, and the Tapti, with a course of about 450 miles, flow westward into the Gulf of Cambay.

The Mahanadi, the Cauvery, the Godavari and the Krishna all flow into the Bay of Bengal,

The chief Indian lakes are the Kolair, a fresh water lake, between the Godavery and Krishna, the Lakes. Wulur lake in Kashmir, the Sambhar lake in Rajputana, and the Chilka lake and Pulicat lake on the East Coast.

The chief towns of India are :—In the Lower Provinces, Calcutta, the Capital of British India, and a great commercial city on the banks of the Hugli, about 80 miles from the sea ; Murshedabad on the Bhagirathi, the last Mahomedan Capital of Bengal, noted for its silk manufactories ; Dacca, on the west of the Megna once famed for its fine muslins ; Hugli, where the English built a factory before Calcutta was founded ; Burdwan, the residence of a wealthy Raja ; Bhagalpore and Monghyr, an ancient town once noted for its Fort ; Patna, the largest City in Behar, identified with Palibothra of the Hindus, the capital of the Ancient Kingdom of Magadha ; Gaya, a noted place of pilgrimage.

In North-Western Provinces, the chief towns are : Allahabad the capital of the North-West Provinces, situated at the junction of the Ganges and the Jamna ; it is the ancient Prayag—the present name was given by Akbar, who built the fort ; Benares, or Kashi, the sacred city of the Hindus on the banks of the Ganges noted for its stone-built houses, numerous temples and bathing ghats ; Agra on the Jamna, the Capital of the Moghal Empire in the time of Akbar, Jehangir and Sháhjehán, noted for the Taj, the mausoleum of Sháhjehán and his beloved consort, Arjuman Bano Begum, and other ancient buildings ; Meerut, midway between the Ganges and the Jamna ; Lucknow, the principal town of Oudh on the Gumti, a large city with many splendid and picturesque buildings ; Cawnpur, the rising commercial centre of the fertile tracts under the Government of the North-West Provinces, and yearly increasing in manufacturing importance.

In the Panjab the principal towns are Lahore on the Ravi, the seat of Government, and for some time the Capital of the Ghiznide and Moghal Emperors ; Amritsar, the commercial Capital of the Punjab ; Jalandhar, an ancient city ; Kangra, the Nagarkot of the Ain-i-Akbari, plundered by Mahmud of Ghazni ; Ludhiana, noted for its shawl manufactures ; Delhi, the Imperial Capital of the ancient Hindus, and the Capital of old Hindu dynasties, and afterwards of the Mahomedan Emperors ; Multan near the Chenab, the Malli of the Greek historians, where Alexander received his famous wound ; Simla, the Summer Capital of the Government of India ; Rawal Pindi, a large military station, not far from which Alexander defeated Porus ; the

Indian monarch, 327 B. C., and Peshawar, near the foot of the Khyber Pass.

In the Bombay Presidency are Bombay ; Ahmedabad, the Mahomedan capital of Gujrat ; Surat, on the Tapti, where the first English factory in India was established, in 1612 ; Poona, a political and military centre which still retains a good deal of the prestige enjoyed by it in former times, like Delhi, and Sattara.

In the Madras Presidency the principal towns are Madras, Vizagapatam, Kistna, Nellore, Arcot, Tanjore, Salem, Bangalore and Mysore.

The chief towns of the Protected States are Srinagar, the Capital of Kashmir, on the Panjab frontier ; Patiala, Bahawalpur and Nabha in the Punjab ; Jodhpur, Jeypur, Udaipur, Bhartpur, Alwar and Bikanir in Rajputana ; Rewa, Gwalior, Bhopal and Indore in Central India ; Hyderabad (Deccan) in the Central Provinces ; Kherpur in Sindh ; Baroda and Cambay in the Bombay Presidency and Mysore and Travancore in the Madras Presidency.

There are twenty-eight large towns in India, with populations of 100,000 and over. The following statement shows them, in order of magnitude, according to the Census of 1891 :—

1. Bombay	... 821,764	15. Patna	... 165,192
2. Calcutta	... 741,144	16. Poona	... 161,390
3. Madras	... 452,518	17. Jeypur	... 158,905
4. Hyderabad	... 415,039	18. Ahmedabad	148,412
5. Lucknow	... 273,028	19. Amritsar	... 136,766
6. Benares	... 219,467	20. Bareilly	... 121,039
7. Delhi	... 192,579	21. Meerut	... 119,390
8. Mandalay	... 188,815	22. Srinagar	... 118,960
9. Cawnpur	... 188,712	23. Nagpur	... 117,014
10. Bangalore	... 180,366	24. Howrah	... 116,606
11. Rangoon	... 180,324	25. Baroda	... 116,420
12. Lahore	... 176,854	26. Surat	... 109,229
13. Allahabad	... 175,246	27. Karachi	... 105,199
14. Agra	... 168,662	28. Gwalior	... 104,083

Bombay thus claims to be the first city in India in respect of population. It is under one municipal body, has well defined boundaries, and has no suburbs on the island itself. The outskirts of Calcutta, on the other hand, are growing into suburbs in all directions. Madras covers a large area, but has, properly speaking, no suburbs. It has little manufacturing industry on the large scale that attracts so many of the industrial classes to Bombay and Calcutta. These are Presidency towns which owe their growth and rise to the British rule.

Under Moghul rule the growth of the chief cities was mainly due to Court stimulus and the protective influence and functions of the British and Native rules paramount power. The success of professions and industries depended on the requirements of the Court and the army. Where the king and the court were, there the people flocked, some to find State employment, others to pursue their occupations according to the taste of the time. When the king moved to another place, intending to make it his capital for a time, the artisans, handicraftsmen and literary people followed him. Thus Bernier compared the capital cities of Delhi and Agra to camps. A lucrative traffic existed in arms, rich fabrics, cloth of gold and silver and ornaments. British rule, on the other hand, has inspired the people of India with a new industrial life, and neither the growth of the chief cities nor their utter desertion now depends on the mere caprice or whim of the sovereign or ruling power, but general peace and harmony, coupled with the facilities of communication and peculiarities and adaptabilities of certain localities as the centre of trade, form the chief factor in the development of large towns in India. Thus, Bombay, though not the seat of a Viceroy and the capital of the Indian Empire, is the first city in India from commercial point of view, and Karachi, though only the head-quarters of a Commissioner of a division, ranks as one of the most flourishing cities in the Empire. The seaport of Rangoon, like that of Karachi, is a centre of commerce. Delhi, though reduced to the position of a provincial town, and no longer the capital of an empire, is conspicuous for its commercial activity and industrial enterprise. Like Cawnpore, it is the great wheat market of the surrounding country, and is a centre of manufacturing industry. The growth of these cities and some others similarly situated is not due to Court influence or the action of the Government, but to natural causes, namely, favourable position, coupled with private enterprise. The wonderful power that makes a giant of steam traverse the vast and boundless expanse of ocean has in one case contributed to the enormous wealth of towns, while in the other the magic touch of the iron horse has enabled the Indraprastha of the ancient Hindus to maintain the commercial reputation it has enjoyed for countless ages.

The mighty mountain wall of the Himalayas, while it forms a natural rampart on the northern frontier of India, also serves the double purpose of a rain-screen and a vast depository or reservoir of water for the tropical regions below. The vast body of water, known as the Indian Ocean, which

surrounds the peninsula of India on three sides, forms the common receptacle of its running waters. The water-laden vapours which the sun draws from the surface of the ocean during summer, being condensed, are carried by the monsoon winds through the upper regions of the Himalayas, and, forming into clouds, become the source of the constant supply of rain on which the fertility of India so much depends. A vast quantity of the moisture that evaporate does not fall as rain while passing over the hot regions, but, its further progress northwards being arrested by the high walls of the Himalayas, it is frozen into snow in the outer slopes of the hills and ultimately swells the Indian rivers.

Of the productions of India, it may be safely said that they comprise nearly all with which nature has endowed the earth, whether in the animal, the vegetable, or the mineral kingdom. In one part or another it possesses the climate and scenery of every region of the Globe, from the snow-clad hills and verdant vales to the lovely plains and the burning deserts. Oriental writers have aptly called it the *Intikhab-i-haft kishwar*, or the 'epitome of the whole world.'

To begin with the productions of the hill tracts, the Himalayas abound in *deodar*, and rhododendron, which grows into a forest tree.

The bamboos, with their light green foliage, grow in the lower valleys, while higher up are to be found the mountain oak, ilex, spruces, pines, walnut, chestnut and maple. On the hill-sides crops of millets in several varieties grow. Potatoes have been introduced from England, while rice is grown in damp hot valleys where the water-supply is abundant. The industrious hill-men and women carry on

cultivation in oats, barley, grains and millets. Borax, several kinds of inferior gems, timber, charcoal, honey, barley and potatoes form the chief articles of trade.

The characteristic animals of the Himalayan regions are the little Yak-cow and the mountain sheep, both employed as beasts of burden, the musk deer, bear, goat, leopard, fox and ounce. Among the chief birds are the eagle, several varieties of pheasants, partridges and great vultures.

Throughout the plains of India two harvests, and in some places three, are reaped. Wheat, the principal grain, on which the bulk of the population subsists, is sown from September to October and reaped in April. Barley is reaped in March. Gram, sown in August and September, is reaped in March. Indian corn, sown



in August and September, is reaped in October. *Joar* (the great millet) *Holcus Sorghum*, *Bajra* (*Penicillaria spicata*), the general articles of subsistence, and the various pulses consumed by the people of all ranks, are sown in July and August and reaped in October. Maize and millet are cultivated in many parts, where irrigation can be obtained. *Til* (*sesamum orientale*), *Mung* (*Phaseolus mungo*), *Mash* (*Phaseolus Roxburghii*) and *Moth* (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*) are sown in July and August, and reaped in November. Mustard, linseed and lentils (*masúr*) are sown in September and August, and reaped in March. Oil being in universal demand by the people for food, for lamps and for application to the person as well as to articles and substances, seeds producing it are extensively sown. The chief grown varieties are linseed, gingelly (*sesamum*), mustard, or rapeseed, and castor oil. Rice, the great staple-food, is sown in July and August, and reaped in September and October. Sago, sago-meal, arrowroot, cassava starch and other starches grow in great profusion. Sugarcane has been one of the products of India from the remotest times. It is sown in February and March, and is reaped in November and December. Potatoes

Cotton. are sown in August and September, and reaped in January. Cotton, which supplies material to the great manufactories of England, and the cotton mills of Manchester, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, as well as to numerous local mills, is extensively cultivated. It is sown in March and April and reaped in October and November.

Jute. Jute is grown in alluvial tracts and on sand-banks in Eastern Bengal, and ranks next after cotton as a fibre crop. The seed is sown in April, and the plant cut in August. Hemp is extensively sown.

The cultivation of the mulberry is carried on in Bengal and certain other localities of India, and large quantities of silk are produced. There are several species of silk-yielding worms in India, among which may be mentioned that which yields *tasar* silk.

The lac insect is common on various jungle trees such as *kusum*, *pipal*, *boer*, and *palas*, and is found scattered over the branches. The dye is extracted by a process of washing and straining.

Turmeric and chillies are extensively cultivated, and ginger, aniseed, fenugreek, black cummin, pepper and coriander are common.

The betel-leaf, which is largely chewed for the sake of its flavor and as an aid to digestion along with certain ingredients, betel-nut, lime and *katha* (an astringent vegetable extract), is grown in many

**Palms.** parts of the country. The betel-nut, the produce of the areca-palm, is grown in certain localities of Bengal, Bombay and Southern India. The cocoanut is an important source of wealth and is grown on sandy soil and in a moist climate. The bastard date, the true date, and the palmyra are Indian species of palm. Jaggery, sugar, and intoxicating liquor are made from the bastard date, while the palmyra palm is also used for distilling.

The seedlings of the quinine-producing cinchona were transported from South America to India in 1860, and have been reared artificially with success. **Cinchona.** Tobacco, a native of the warm parts of America, is sown in January and February, and reaped in May and June, but the quality is generally inferior. **Tobacco.** Tobacco of excellent quality is, however, grown in Upper Burmah, where men, women and children smoke cigars made of it.

The cultivation of tea was introduced into India in 1834, and in the time of Lord William Bentinck, various specimens having been obtained from China, a nursery for 10,000 plants was for the first time formed in Calcutta. It now grows in abundance on the slopes of the Himalayas and detached hills in various districts as well as in the plains of Assam, in the Dehra Doon and Kangra Valleys and in several other parts of India. The tea plant grows wild in Assam, which has been ascertained to be its real home, and from certain indications botanists infer that it was thence introduced at some pre-historic time into China.

Coffee has been long grown in various districts by the natives of the country. **Coffee.** The berry is indigenous to Mecca, and was in the first instance brought to the Malabar Coast by the Indian Mahomedan pilgrims from Mecca about two centuries ago. English planters have, however, now succeeded in obtaining excellent berries, and there are fine coffee gardens in Mysore and the sub-divisions of Madras.

The cultivation of Indigo is now carried on most extensively in Behar, where there are many large factories under European and some under native management. **Indigo.** It is also largely grown and manufactured in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, and in the North-East of the Madras Presidency, and, to a certain extent, in Bengal, where, however, it is much less profitable than formerly.

The Indian forests produce many timber trees, and it may be said that no land possesses timber in greater variety and beauty. **Indian Forest produce.** Sál

wood (*Shorea Robusta*) is extensively used for house-building and engineering and grows abundantly in Northern and Central India. The teak (*Tectonagrandi*), the rival of British oak, used for ship-building and any other purposes, grows in the Coromandel District, Madras and Burma. The Sissú or black wood (*Dilbergia Sissoo*), tamarind, palm and cedar, grow in profusion in many districts. The babul (*Mimosa Arabica*, or gum Arabic tree), so manifold in its uses, the cocoa and palmyra palms, the Kikar (*Acacia Arabica*), the Ber (*Zizyphus jujuba*), Faras (*Tamaris Orientalis*), mulberry (*Morus Indica*), Siris (*Acacia Sirissæ*) grow in abundance in both woods and plains, while Bakain, Amaltas, Barna, Pipul or Bor, and many other varieties are common.

The Deodar (*Cedrus Deodara*) is found on the North-Eastern Himalayas. The stately *pin* (*Callophyllum inophyllum*), extensively used as spars for ships, is grown on the mountain ranges of the Western Ghats, where there are also to be found inexhaustible forests of the wild jack and a variety of *abnús*, or ebony. The precious and sweet-scented sandal-wood is grown in the stony tracts of Mysore, Kánara, and the Western Ghats. The characteristic trees of Kumáon and Garhwal in the North-Western Provinces are the *Chil* (*Pinus excelsa*) and *chir* (*Pinus longifolia*). The celebrated *Sundarban* forests near Calcutta supply the Sundari wood, which not improbably gives the name to the forest. The Nim (*Melia azadirachta*) grows in most parts of the country.

Of the fruit trees, the Mango (*Mangifera Indica*), the special gift of India, the delicious fruit of which is partaken of by both the great and small, is carefully propagated, and is further valuable for the pleasant shade it affords. The fruit, which ripens about June, is luscious and sweet. The finer qualities are propagated by layering and inarching. The mangoes of Bombay, of Multan and of Maldah (in Bengal), are noted for their excellent taste and flavor.

The Mulberry ripens in May, peaches, plums (*Alucha*) loquats, phalsa (an acid berry), melons and a few nectarines all ripen in June. Baking pears, crab-apples, pine-apples, custard-apples, guavas and pomegranates, ripen in July or August. The guavas of Madras and other Provinces make delicious preserves. Sweet and other limes ripen in September, oranges in November and plantains all the year round. The oranges of the Khasi hills are noted for their excellence. The jujube fruit is common, while several varieties of citrons and figs are in general use. Grapes are grown to a small extent as a garden fruit. Among the cultivated fruits may also be mentioned the

*papaw* (*Carica Papaya*), jack (*Artocarpus Integrifolia*), and shaddock (*citrus decumana*). *Gondin* (*cordia Angustifolia*), or the Sebesten plum, grows in many parts.

Vegetables and greens in endless variety are very plentiful. The most common are *Palak* (a species of spinach), *Methi* (*Trigonella foenugraecum*), *soya* or fennel (*Anetham sowa*), *karam kalla*, or cabbage and dwarf cabbage, potatoes, *kachalu* (*Arum colocasia*), *Arwi* (a species of *Arum*), *Ghia* (*cucurbita lagenaria*), cauliflower, *Bengun* or egg-plant (*solanum melongena*), *karela* (*monardica charantia*), *Tinda* (*dyospyros melanoxylon*), *shalgam* or turnip, *gdjar* or carrot (*daucus carota*), *Muli* (radish), *Bhindi* (*hibiscus esculentus*), *Kachndl* (*Bauhinia variegata*), *Turai* or cucumber (*cucumis acutangulus*), *matar* or pea (*pisum sativum*), *bagla* and *Lobia* (kinds of bean), *Chukandar* (beet root) and *sem* (flat or broad bean). There are also the onion, garlic, *Ratalu* or yam, *dhania* (coriander seed), pepper, pepper-mint, and a great variety of cucurbitaceous plants. Almost all the English vegetables can be grown in India by careful gardening.

Flowers of the most agreeable odour and the most lovely hues spring up in luxuriance. The Persian rose, which, for its beauty and sweetness of smell, has become the chief favorite of the flower-garden, has, from the remotest ages, been regarded as an emblem of joy and love. The poets of the East are sanguine in praise of its colour and the soothing odour of its flowers, while its opening bud is the favourite image of innocence and purity. From its dried petals and buds mild astringents and syrups are made, while the otto, or essential oil, extracted from it is the richest which the ingenuity of man has produced, and is renowned throughout the Eastern world. The jasmine (from the Arabic *ydsmin*) has exquisitely fragrant flowers. Garlands of these flowers embellish the necks of the poor as well as the rich of both sexes during the summer season, and a few sprinkled on the bed in moonlight fill the balmy air with a mild fragrance. By a process of placing layers of the flowers alternately with layers of cotton soaked in oil of ben, a pure essential oil is extracted from it. The *Champa*, a fragrant yellow flower, *Raebel* (*jasminum zambac*), *Juhi* (*jasminum auriculatum*), *moulsiri* (*mimusopse elengi*), *keura* and *ketki* (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) and *Sewti* (*Rosa glandulifera*) yield sweet and powerful perfumes. The water-lily and lotus are found in profusion on the banks of the Ganges, the Indus, the Jhilum, the Godaveri and on the Wulur lake in the valley of Kashmir.

Among the large quadrupeds, the most noted are the elephant, camel, horse, rhinoceros and buffalo. The districts which furnish the

Animals.

main supply of horses for the British cavalry are in the Punjab. The Government breed horses for the Bengal army, and a number of stallions from England and Arabia are maintained for the purpose, but remounts are largely obtained by purchase in the open market. Mules are bred for military purposes. The best ponies are obtained from Bhutan, Burma, and Manipur. The lion of Asia is still found in the forests of parts of northern India, but in limited numbers. Tigers, leopards and panthers haunt the marshy districts, and many sorts of deer and antelopes are to be found in all parts. Numerous tribes of monkeys inhabit the woods, and even localities inhabited by man, where their chattering and screaming may be heard in the busiest markets and most frequented quarters. Jackals are found prowling about the villages, while wolves, hyenas, wild bear and boar abound in particular tracts. The sheep and goat are as common as in European countries. Pigs are reared by the low castes, who eat them as an article of food.

Most of the birds peculiar to tropical regions are common in

**Birds.** India. The crow, eagle, common sparrow, falcon, white crane, grey crane and egret are numerous, and the cuckoo, bustard, snipe, wild goose, vultures, ortolans and other birds abound. There are numerous species of the duck genus and other water-fowl, domestic and wild. The most remarkable among these are the swan, the goose, the tame duck, the eider duck, the widgeon, the teal and the pelican. The Himalayan pheasants are noted for their splendid plumage, and are believed to be the finest in size and form in the world. The *bia*, or weaver bird (*Ploceus bia*), builds large hanging gobular nests on the branches of tall trees. The bird is taught to thread beads, and draw up little buckets of water. The starling is easily tamed and taught to whistle.

Iron is found in many parts of the country, but the success of iron-working depends very much on the proximity to each other of the ore, the fuel and the flux. The steel of India was celebrated among the ancients.

**Mines and minerals.**

**Iron.**

**Steel.**

and is mentioned in the old Persian poetry, and the scymblars of Damascus and Khorasan are to this day made of this steel.

**Coal.** Numerous coal mines also exist in the country, and collieries have progressed hand in hand with the extension of Railways in the country. The first coal mine was opened in Raniganj, Bengal, in 1820. The collieries of Central India supply coal to the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. Coal-fields exist in the outlying Provinces of Assam, Chota Nagpur, Nerbada Valley and Godavari. Salt is obtained by quarrying solid cliffs of salt in the north-east

Salt. of the Punjab, and the salt thus obtained is unrivalled for purity in the whole world. Indian saltpetre, largely used in Europe for the manufacture of gun-powder, is found with other saline substances in many parts of the country, especially in the upper regions of the Ganges.

Silber, though it forms the metallic currency of the country and is extensively used for the purposes of personal ornament and in the arts, is not the produce of India, but Gold is produced in many parts.

Gold washing is carried on in many hill streams, while gold mining is practised to a certain extent in Southern India. Gold is also found in small quantities in Tenasserim, south of the Irawadi.

Rich copper mines exist in the lower ranges of the Himalayas from Darjeeling westward to Kamaun. Copper ores also occur in the Singhbhum District of Chota Nagpur. Lead is worked along the Himalayan ranges on the Punjab frontier, and rich deposits of tin exist in the Burmese Peninsula. The hill states of the Punjab produce antimony or *surma*. It also occurs in Mysore and Burma. Cobalt, used for coloring enamel, is produced from the mineral ores of Rajputana. Petroleum in large quantities is found in British Burma, Assam, the Punjab and Arakan. Limestone is abundant in many parts and a very pure variety is found in Tenasserim, south of the Irawadi.

Lead. Tin. Antimony. Cobalt. Petroleum. Mineral oil springs. Limestone. Fine qualities of building stone abound in India. Rajputana is famous for its pink marble. Trap, of a greenish-black or greyish color, is produced in the Deccan; granite is found in Central India, and sandstone on the banks of the Godavari and the Nerbada. Quarries of slate occur in many parts. Lapis lazuli, so much used in embellishing temples, palaces and tombs, is produced in the northern hills. Carneliums of white, red and yellow colour, agate and onyx are worked in Cambay, in Gujrat, and in Ratanpur in the State of Rajpipla.

According to the Census of 1891, the population of the whole of India, including feudatory States, is 287,223,431 souls, distributed in the various British Provinces and groups of native States. The population and the area in square miles stand as follows. The table also shows the proportion borne by each Province, or

Population.

group of States, to the total area and population respectively of India as a whole.

Province, State or Agency.	Area in square miles.	Population in 1891.	Percentage on total.	
			Area.	Population.
Bengal ... ..	1,51,543	71,346,987	9'71	24'84
Madras ... ..	1,41,189	35,630,440	9'05	12'40
{ North-Western Provinces ...	83,286	34,254,254	5'34	11'93
{ Oudh ... ..	24,217	12,650,831	1'55	4'40
{ Panjab ... ..	110,667	20,866,847	7'09	7'26
{ Bombay ... ..	77,275	15,985,270	4'95	5'56
{ Sindh ... ..	47,789	2,871,747	3'06	1'00
Central Provinces ... ..	86,501	10,784,294	5'55	3'75
{ Upper Burmah ... ..	83,473	2,946,933	5'35	1'03
{ Lower Burmah ... ..	87,957	4,658,627	3'64	1'63
Assam ... ..	49,004	5,476,833	3'14	1'91
Behar ... ..	17,718	2,897,491	1'14	1'01
Ajmir ... ..	2,711	542,358	0'17	0'19
Coorg ... ..	1,583	173,055	0'10	'06
Aden ... ..	80	44,079	0'01	0'02
{ Quettah, &c. ... ..	...	27,270	...	0'01
{ Andamans ... ..	...	15,609	...	...
<b>Total British Provinces ...</b>	<b>964,993</b>	<b>221,172,952</b>	<b>61.85</b>	<b>77'00</b>
Hyderabad ... ..	82,698	11,537,040	5'30	4'02
Rajputana ... ..	130,268	12,016,102	8'35	4'18
Central India ... ..	77,808	10,318,812	4'99	3'59
Mysore ... ..	27,936	4,943,604	1'79	1'72
Baroda ... ..	8,226	2,415,396	0'53	0'84
Kashmir ... ..	80,900	2,543,952	5'19	0'89
States connected with Bombay	69,045	8,059,298	4'42	2'81
"  "  with Madras	9,609	3,700,622	0'62	1'29
"  "  Central	...	...	...	...
Provinces ... ..	29,435	2,160,511	1'89	0'75
States connected with Bengal	35,834	3,296,379	2'30	1'15
"  "  North-	...	...	...	...
Western Provinces ... ..	5,109	792,491	0'32	0'28
States connected with Punjab	38,299	4,263,280	2'45	1'48
Fort Steadman Shan outposts	...	2,992	...	...
<b>Total Feudatory States ...</b>	<b>595,167</b>	<b>66,050,479</b>	<b>38'15</b>	<b>23'00</b>
<b>Grand Total, India ...</b>	<b>1,560,160</b>	<b>287,223,431</b>	<b>100'00</b>	<b>100'00</b>

The population of India is thus more than double that which Gibbon estimated for the Roman empire during the height of its splendour. The Census of 1881 and 1872.

The following table shows the increase of population since 1872 :—

	1872.	1881.	1891.
British India ... ..	186,000,000	199,043,492	221,172,952
Feudatory States (over) ...	56,000,000	56,604,371	66,050,479
French and Portuguese Possessions (nearly) ...	7,500,000	7,48,783	8,44,307
Total ...	240,931,521	256,396,646	288,067,738

The chief Himalayan State of Nepal is excluded from the above computation, and so is the State of Bhutan, further east. The approximate population of Sikkim and other Territories on the British border was as follows, according to the Census of 1891 :—

Sikkim ... ..	...	30,458
Manipur ... ..	...	250,000
British Beluchistan ...	...	145,417
Cis Salwin Shan States	...	372,969
Burma Frontier tracts	...	116,493
Rajputana hill tracts	...	204,241
		<hr/> 1,119,578
British India, Feudatory States and French and Portuguese possessions ...	...	288,067,738
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Total for all India ...	...	289,187,316

Politically the first sub-division of India is into British and Feudatory territory. The former comprises the dominion of the Crown, under the sole administration of the British Government, and contains 62 per cent. of the area and 77 per cent. of the population. The remainder is under the rule of native chiefs subject to the advice and control of the British Government in its capacity of the Paramount Power, and includes 38 per cent. of the area and 23 per cent. of the population.

It will be interesting to compare the relative size and population of the different parts of India with the corresponding returns for countries more widely known. Bengal, then, the largest of the Provinces, has an area equal to that of the United Kingdom with the addition of a second Scotland, whilst the population is about that of the whole of the United States of America in 1890, together with that of Mexico.

The Presidency of Madras has the area of Prussia and



Saxony, and contains a population exceeding that of those two States by that of Wurtemberg, one of the smallest members of the German Empire. The N.-W. Provinces, with Oudh and the connected States, comprise nearly the same number of people as are found in the whole German Empire, though the area is something under that of Italy.

Sindh and the Punjáb combined have a population nearly equal to that of Austria, and, with the States connected with the latter, a population little below that of England and Wales. Bombay and its native States are similarly comparable with Spain, Holland and Norway. Assam shows as many people as Bavaria, but nearly twice the area. The population of Lower Burma is equal to that of Ireland.

The territories under the feudatories have a population larger than that of the United States, with an area equal to that covered by the Triple Alliance with Belgium and Servia thrown in. The two great agencies of Rajputana and Central India extend over an area equal to that of the German Empire, and contain nearly the population of Austria. Hyderabad is as large as England and Scotland put together. Mysore is a little smaller, but more populous, than Portugal, while the population of Kashmir is comparable with that of Chili.

M. L.

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## ART. XI.—INDIAN UNIVERSITIES—ACTUAL AND IDEAL—III.

(Continued from October 1896.)

A second article under this heading in the *Calcutta Review* for October of last year dealt only with the more technical aspects of the practical problem of University education. It canvassed the main features of the academic machinery of the Calcutta University, and hazarded certain suggestions, which, it was hoped, might tend to make the knowledge acquired more real and thorough. If we could secure that our intellectual product should be thoroughly sound, we should have done much. There are some, however, who think that more than this may be expected from our Indian colleges. There is a growing demand that more direct effort should be made to influence character in a deep and permanent way. It is not enough to make knowledge accessible and to test the knowledge acquired in definite courses of study; we must endeavour to train the character also, and take care that moral aspiration, as well as sound learning, is included in our working ideal. It may even be doubted whether the best intellectual results are possible apart from a certain ethical tone, which it must be our business to impart. These views certainly claim serious consideration in proportion as education is a power; and, without the direction of right principles, that power may turn to evil instead of good.

The problem of education in this broader sense is one the importance of which it is impossible to exaggerate; it is also, and partly for that very reason, one very difficult to treat. It is easier to point to existing deficiencies than to suggest remedies, and it is easier to suggest remedies than to make them effective in practice. It is also a matter which has engaged the attention of experts, and which, in some one of its many aspects, is continually being brought into public notice. So much has been written on the subject that to go over the ground again may well seem a superfluous undertaking. To those who take any interest in these things the topics are sufficiently familiar. They include such well-worn themes as physical education, hostels, a tutorial system, direct moral instruction, addresses on 'the duties of a man and a citizen,' and that strange portent, the 'moral text-book,' written departmentally to order. Abundant discussion of these and kindred matters will be found in the Report of the Education Commission of 1882, in the memoranda of experts, in Government Resolutions, in the Reports on Education, Annual and

Quinquennial, in histories of the educational movement, like those of Mr. Saththianadhan (History of Education in the Madras Presidency), or Mr. Syed Mahmood (History of English Education in India, 1781-1893), or in Mr. Thomas's Le Bas Prize Essay for 1890 (Cambridge 1891). And, seeing that things remain very much as they were, despite discussions, memoranda and reports—more accurately, seeing that progress is, and must necessarily be, very slow, is it not a little futile to undertake the dull enterprise of traversing the same weary round again? Is it not more seemly, as well as more modest, to hold one's peace, and leave the issues to the slow working of time and patience?

I am not, however, so hardy as to propose to handle those intricate and delicate subjects either exhaustively or authoritatively; my purpose is merely to glance over a wide field, and make a suggestion here and there which may be found not unworthy of consideration in connection with ends which all must agree to be of the first importance. There is this justification, I think. The whole future of higher education in India turns upon the solution of the deeper problems that still press upon us as much as ever. It is of the utmost consequence to find the right solution. Every effort must be strained on the task of widening and deepening the educational influences at work, and in the field of practice no means must be left untried which have even a show of possible efficacy. The lifting of the whole aim of University education in India is a matter so important that a certain amount of tedious iteration is pardonable, or even called for. It is only by pointing again and again to existing blemishes that a continuous effort can be made to remove them. We shall not, of course, attain the desired end all at once; progress from year to year, or from decade to decade, may be so small as to be almost imperceptible; but it is only by 'hammering away' that the nail will be driven a little further in; it is only by returning again and again to the charge that we shall advance at all. If the great ethical impetus which really lies behind the whole educational movement in India is suffered to die away; if we indulge in complacency over the steadily rising figures in statistical tables of educational progress; if we grow content to jog along easily at the level attained in the grooves hewn out by the labours of those who have gone before us; if we allow the endeavour after a deeper and more vital improvement to be slackened, an insidious deterioration is likely enough to follow, and ugly results, the very reverse of those intended, may be expected to show themselves more and more unmistakably.

We want from all sides a more lively interest in the

true ends of liberal education, and in the proper quarters a more earnest zeal in bringing these ends nearer to practical realization. This zeal and interest cannot well be kept alive without some discussion of, or, at all events, reflection on, the ends to be aimed at and the means by which they may be reached. With each recapitulation of the issues involved, some new, and, perhaps, more hopeful, aspect of the matter may come into prominence ; some fresh interest may be aroused ; some latent sympathy drawn out, and here and there, it may be, some partisan gained for the cause. The cause needs helpers. These considerations justify, I am fain to believe, any and every attempt to keep these educational problems vividly before the minds of educated men. Such, at all events, is my excuse. At least I make my small contribution to a large question with a deep consciousness of the momentous nature of the task that is laid upon educationalists in India, and the insignificance of any individual attempt to cope with it.

Put most briefly, what we have not got and what we want, is a healthy *University life*. This is plainly something very much more than courses of study, lectures, examinations and degrees. It is a life shared in common by fellow-students and teachers, involving common sympathies and aims, a consciousness of the corporate unity of the body of which all are members, and disinterested loyalty to the idea of this unity embodied in the institution to which all belong. It is a life that influences character through the immediate presentment of something noble and venerable ; through the emotions of vivid experiences shared with others ; most of all, through the subtle working of personal sympathy in the common life and its varied interests. "In no element are Indian colleges so deficient," wrote Mr. Tawney in the *Calcutta Review*, some five-and-twenty years ago, "as in that which is the most important one in all their prototypes in England, the education which the students derive, not from their teachers, but from one another." This is the gist of the matter, and what Mr. Tawney remarked then, remains substantially true to-day. The very formidable nature of the task of creating such a life in Indian colleges, where the most essential elements are wanting, is at once apparent.

An Englishman coming to the work of an Indian College, after an experience of life at English public schools and Universities, is likely to be impressed with the almost entire absence of disinterested loyalty to the college as an institution. The Indian student has little sense of the college as a whole of which all are members, or of community of interest with his fellow-students. He attends so many lectures and goes his way.

He has a laudable desire to get as much as he can out of his instructors, and a bland habit of proposing an indefinite scheme of extra lectures to suit his private convenience ; but the motive of working to do credit to his college or please his teacher counts for very little. His first object is to 'pass,' and, so long as that great end can be compassed, he is not too particular as to the means. If he aims at distinction it is for himself: in a number of little ways he indicates how entirely he regards his life as a student from a narrowly selfish point of view, and how little broader considerations weigh with him. The personal motive, of course, is perfectly proper in its place ; but it sways the average Indian student with a simplicity which is far from engaging. If, further, our student belongs to the minority who interest themselves in games, his standpoint is, again, too exclusively personal. His idea of an athletic club is an organisation for the amusement and benefit of himself and a select circle of friends, and he is not pedantically strict as to whether these friends belong to his college or no. He realises with difficulty the idea of a representative college team : to select one solely on the principle of choosing the best men, is to him a trying ordeal. Again, in his dealings with his fellows, the Indian student lacks the frank spirit of comradeship which is the rule at English colleges and public schools. He has none of that wholesome boyishness which makes the intercourse of English undergraduates unconstrained and cheerful. He has an indifferent comprehension of chaff : the spirit of generous 'give-and-take' is a thing he does not understand. He takes himself seriously to an uncomfortable extent ; is embarrassed with a petty sensitiveness and a childish sense of personal dignity. As a club official, he is ready to resign at the first breath of criticism ; the light word is construed with deadly literalness ; the molehill swells to mountainous proportions. In his Debating Society, for which he has a marked partiality, he is wanting in an adequate sense of the amenities of debate ; he does not easily distinguish between opposition in argument and personal hostility, and is apt to treat lively banter as mortal insult. All these little characteristics necessarily hinder the promotion of a healthy social life among students, and may serve to indicate how elementary our education in these matters has to be.

The great need of 'education' in our colleges has now been baldly indicated. It is to stimulate and foster, in all ways possible, the growth of a real University life, which may develop in those who share it loyalty, disinterestedness and public spirit, together with what, in default of a 'recognized name, we might, perhaps, call 'civility.' By this I mean the capacity to live in the mimic commonwealth of the college on easy

terms with all its members, free from petty jealousies or narrow exclusiveness. This is not, however, quite all that is wanted, though it is the principal thing and comprehends a great deal. What else is called for will appear from a consideration of the chief grounds of the dissatisfaction with the practical outcome of University education which meets us on all sides. This dissatisfaction is expressed, not by Englishmen only, but also by natives of this country, and is even found among college students. Nor is the educator himself, as a rule, soothed with self-gratulation at the work of his hands. Being, often, acutely conscious of a certain sickness of heart, he cannot but acknowledge that there is ground for the chorus of disapproval that arises from without.

What there is of justice in the Anglo-Indian view of the matter—I put aside, as too fundamental, that which dismisses 'English education' as an unmitigated nuisance—was aptly expressed in a Minute of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab on the Report of Public Instruction for that province a few years back. "Indian students: how many instances fail to acquire either the highly-polished manners of their fathers, or the quiet, self-contained and modest demeanour which commonly characterises the young Englishman, at least when in the presence of his elders. An Indian youth, when he has acquired the small amount of education involved in getting through one or two University examinations, is too often apt to adopt a self-asserting, aggressive and bumptious manner, which is inconsistent either with Native or English ideas of what a gentleman ought to be" (Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab for 1891-92, p. 3, para. 10). Native dissatisfaction takes various forms: in the main it comes to the complaint at the absence of moral and religious instruction and of higher influences on character generally. The student complains of the system, as cold, harsh, and unsympathetic, failing to stir the kindlier emotions, or touch the springs of character. He even describes himself as languishing under a grinding tyranny of text-books and courses, which crushes the free spirit and leaves no leisure for moral or intellectual aspiration. As for the educator—his thoughts are too deep for utterance. 'The heart knoweth its own bitterness.'

Combining these various points of view, we may summarise the complaints urged against the education which our colleges are giving, as concerned with (1) good manners; (2) more effective moral guidance; (3) loyalty and public spirit. These are the objections we find actually formulated from various quarters as a judgment on actual results. They also indicate just the deficiencies we should expect to find *à priori*. They spring, indeed, from the nature of the case, and the peculiar

conditions under which English Universities have been planted on Indian soil. But not the less for this, but rather all the more, must we set ourselves to face difficulties resolutely, and try and remove these blemishes and defects to the utmost of what is practical.

The point of 'good manners' is, perhaps, the slightest of the three: it is also the easiest to deal with. Yet, if our colleges could really be made a school of good manners, a good deal would have been effected towards the attainment of more important ends. In fact, the three points just distinguished are very closely related, and it will not be possible to keep them entirely separate.

Now as to good manners, I think a great deal might be done forthwith in this direction, merely by a judicious tightening of the reins of the ordinary college discipline. We have, in the respect which a student owes to his teachers and his college, an instrument ready to our hands, and asking to be used more effectively. I do not mean that there is any serious want of discipline in Government or other colleges: as a rule, they do work smoothly enough. I am thinking only of minor points; of what comes more properly under good manners than under discipline; and here I think we may find considerable room for improvement. For instance, the student is apt to lounge about; to loiter in corridors and passages; to raise his voice with unnecessary stridency; to stare impertinently; to intrude upon what does not concern him. Let the student, so long as he is within the college building, be required to maintain a consistently respectful attitude. Let him, in all the small particularities of behaviour, show respect to the place and to his teachers. He should, for instance, be definitely required to show the customary marks of courtesy whenever he passes a lecturer or teacher within the college precincts. He is a little apt at present to give or withhold such respectful recognition as he pleases. As a rule, no doubt, it is not good to attach importance to trifles; and it is certainly better when these minor moralities can be left to good-feeling. But in this case there is an unlovely tendency to be combated and a real end to be secured. A little punctiliousness will be justified. Our manners have been called in question; in the interest of all concerned, let us deliberately set ourselves to mend them. Albeit I am not aware that the traditional two-pence has been taken into account in fixing the stipends of educational officers under the new scheme, let us undertake with due seriousness the teaching of 'manners.' I should like to see a definite code of rules prescribing the behaviour expected of students posted up in every college, and enforced by pains and penalties of a mild kind. If a certain amount of discontent

were at first excited, it would not at this date matter much. When English education began, it was, perhaps, inevitable that the Indian student should be somewhat tenderly handled. His little idiosyncracies had to be studied, and a certain laxity of system to be admitted. Conditions have since greatly altered. The colleges began in a weak position. Their position is now very strong, and we may use this stronger position to take up a firmer attitude. We must begin to treat students, not as weaker mortals for whose peculiarities allowance must be made, but as we should treat English students. They ought to have the wit to take this as the greater compliment. Moreover in India there is a tradition of the sacred character of the teacher. We ought to take advantage of this national instinct and claim its benefits. It is strange, if, in thus inculcating a deeper respect for the teacher and for all connected with learning, we shall not have the support of Indian public opinion.

There are some features of our college system, as prevailing, at all events, in Bengal, which, if not absolutely irreconcilable with good order, are certainly stumbling blocks in the way of the temper and habit of perfect discipline. One of these I have already spoken—the low percentage of daily attendance required by the University regulations. A rule requiring a stricter attendance would, I think, tend to foster the spirit of discipline. Another and more vital matter is the inordinate length of time a student is kept at lectures without any adequate break. The Indian undergraduate sits almost continuously through four successive lectures, each of an hour's duration. Sometimes it is even five. I do not know whether the system is universal, but certainly it prevails widely. It is not easy to see how it is to be altered. Nevertheless I regard it as a grave hindrance to the attitude of discipline, as shown in general alertness of mind and body, as well as incompatible with sound teaching and learning. Such an ordeal as writing 'notes' for four hours continuously is calculated to try the strongest faculty of attention; I am not aware that such a practice prevails anywhere else. It is eminently unsuited to the Indian climate.

The arrangement of the day's work at Indian colleges has, of course, established itself in accordance with a kind of adaptation to circumstances. But that does not prevent its being a pernicious system, or relieve us altogether from responsibility. Probably neither students nor lecturers have any wish to go down to college twice a day (often from a distance), instead of once; nor would they welcome the proposal to pass an extra hour, or half-hour, at college, in order to give time for a break of reasonable length. If we had *resident* colleges, the arrangement of morning and afternoon lectures would be easy. At Agra you find the college in a pleasant suburb, sufficiently



removed from the town; the college buildings in spacious grounds, with the Principal's house adjoining; across the road are three or four good-sized buildings which are students' boarding-houses, with a good cricket field beyond. A little further down the road are houses tenanted by the professors. This is the type of college we want in Bengal; but unfortunately we are not very likely to get it quite at once, and the unsatisfactory alternative of continuous lectures or the unpopular interval remains.

There is, however, quite another way of meeting the case. It is, in view of established usage, a somewhat heroic remedy; but it has the merit of simplicity. Might we not cut the knot by reducing the number of lectures? It is assumed that all these lectures are a necessity; I hold on the contrary that the Indian student is grievously over-lectured. A decrease in the number of lectures would not only relieve an excessive strain on the student's powers of endurance, but would even be a gain on sound principles of teaching. In lecturing, as in other things, the half is sometimes more than the whole.

If it were conceded that the average student's mind could be healthily nourished on some fifteen lectures a week—two hours and three hours on alternate days—the way would be made plain before us. Moreover, the lightening of the actual burden of lectures, though this alone would be an unmixed blessing, would be only a part, and perhaps not the chief part, of the net gain. Probably all who have impartially considered the matter have disabused themselves of the belief in the universal efficacy of lectures. A touching confidence in this method of instruction is an admirable trait of Indian students, and seems to linger also in the minds of some whose opportunities of forming an opinion have been ampler. The English undergraduate by no means shares this faith; the Honours man has his misgivings—of the Pass man it is superfluous to speak. The sober truth seems to be, that, with the present vast multiplication of printed books, the conditions of oral teaching have been greatly modified. When, as in the Middle Ages, there were few books, the scholar must needs resort to the lecture-rooms of those who had books or the knowledge got by books. Accordingly students flocked to hear the teacher wherever he was to be found. Now, however, all is changed. If a man makes a discovery, or has anything new to say, he writes a book, and his book is accessible to all who can buy it. Even the summary of another man's book, and other modes of putting knowledge into a digestible shape, can be printed and published, and constitute a form of literature not generally of an expensive kind. The result is that in these days a student of moderate intelligence can do a great deal for himself by the study of books. It is

even better in some ways that he should. The lecturer can, of course, manipulate knowledge, and put it into convenient forms suited to the apprehension of the learner and the needs of mere examinations. But even in this respect his usefulness is limited. If his lecture notes are really good, they are thought to be worth publishing, and, in the printed form, can both reach a wider circle of learners and be mastered by the individual student in a shorter time. As for analyses and summaries, they are most profitably made by the student for himself; and, if he shrinks from the moderate degree of application involved, or is absolutely stupid, he can, in India, buy what is admirably adapted to his purpose for a few annas.

Has the lecturer, the teacher, then, no function to perform at all? Is his occupation gone? Heaven forbid that I should be suspected of so extreme a heresy! He has a function, and if he is given a fair chance, a useful and indispensable function. In the first place, he is required as a guide to the method of study; comparatively few students in the beginning know how to use books. They require suggestions and practical illustrations of how they are to set about learning by means of books. Further, the lecturer is alive; whereas books, as Plato long ago pointed out, are dead. Books cannot answer questions; they cannot clear up their own obscurities, or the perplexities due to a reader's dulness; they can only put things in one stereotyped way; they can only go on repeating the same impression on the eye without any certainty of ever reaching the understanding. The skilful teacher can adapt his instruction to the needs of the moment; he can vary his mode of presentment, and if he fails to reach his hearer's minds by one path, he can try another. In these ways the uses of oral teaching are invaluable and can never be superseded. There is, further, the case—a very real one sometimes—in which the scholar has a rooted incapacity to learn from books at all. There are minds to which the unreality of books is insuperable; the written word is absolutely dead to them: it requires the living voice to open their understanding at all. The very words that seem unmeaning when written, gain significance in a flash when spoken in tones that vibrate upon the ear. But this is not a frequent case among Indian students.

On a level raised high above these baser uses, stands the heaven-born teacher; the man whose very voice is inspiration, whose genius is an original force that quickens the minds of those who hear him with a freshness and directness that no book can rival. He, too, can never be superseded, and his lecture-room will still be crowded, wherever he appears. But he is a somewhat rare product. The great teacher is

born, not made. There remains the lesser stimulus which is imparted to all teaching by the teacher's personality. There is always some thing which the living teacher has, and which books have not, in proportion to the originality and freshness of a man's mind ; and every teacher naturally aspires to make this stimulus as great as possible. The success of his teaching depends largely upon it.

Striking the balance of these considerations, it is plain, I think, that in India, as elsewhere, we want a certain number of lectures ; but we do not want so many as we now have. We may even admit that the student in India wants more of such help than elsewhere, because it is more difficult for him to get access to all the books he wants. He is often too poor to buy more than a few indispensable text-books, and he imperfectly understands, and cannot always command, the use of a library. Personal teaching and lectures are not, however, co-extensive ; and here comes in that other greater gain which I suggest would result from a change in our present system of lectures.

If there were fewer lectures for the lectured, there would be fewer also for the lecturer. The college professor would consequently have leisure, which he certainly has not as things are, for helping his pupils in other ways. Now, if there is one form of help which an Indian student needs more than any thing else, it is private assistance, or 'coaching.' His difficulties and his mistakes are largely personal, and too often he has no guide to whom he may resort. Sometimes he asks questions in the lecture-room. Lecturers differ in their encouragement of this practice. It may, to a certain extent, be justified by the special circumstances, and so far as practicable. With quite small classes no inconvenience arises ; but, with classes of fifty or a hundred, it could only result in confusion, unless restricted within the narrowest limits. At best, it is cumbersome and inadequate : the difficulties of one student are not those of another, this involves waste of time, and the utmost possible latitude would not satisfy all. If, however, a lecturer had only two or three hours lecturing a day, he could afford a certain amount of time to taking the members of his classes separately, and giving them such special aid as they most needed. The younger students could bring their difficulties ; the more advanced essays. In short, we might in this way easily secure what has often been pointed to as a thing much wanted in the educational scheme of Indian colleges—a workable tutorial system. I can imagine no greater benefit that could be conferred on students and teachers. The student might get directly the stimulus of personal influence, and he would also obtain such assistance as would

be most helpful in his work. The professor would gain sound personal knowledge of his pupils: they would become to him something more than names and numbers. Both would learn to know each other better—in itself a thing to be wished for.

The change contemplated involves, certainly, a reconstruction of the routine of work to which we are accustomed, and does some violence to the ideas on which the existing system may be supposed to be founded. These would seem to be that 'lectures' are pre-eminently adapted to the requirements of Indian students, and that the more they have of them the better. But I find no authoritative theory current as to what precisely the lecture should do for the student. Now, there are two things, really quite different, which are apt to be confounded—class-teaching and lectures. Class-teaching is for school-boys, and its end is to put knowledge bodily into the learner's mind. All that is to be learnt is imparted or tested in the class-room. Lectures are for older students, who are able to do most of the learning for themselves; their end is to suggest, stimulate, and guide. They direct the student in the courses of study which he carries on mainly for himself. It is not quite clear which of these two functions the lectures at Indian colleges are intended to fulfil. The name suggests the latter: their number agrees better with the former. In practice we make a sort of compromise between the two. It would be better, I think, to determine definitely which method is better suited to our case. Now, if we look only to mere examination results, it may be doubtful which mode of teaching is the more efficacious. If, however, we take the broader view, of a training which is really to fit our students to play the part of educated men in after life, the superiority of a system of lectures proper cannot, I think, be questioned. For what is it we are doing? We are no longer teaching school-boys the elements, we are trying to prepare men for the work of life in such a way that they may, by their intelligence and capacity, show themselves worthy of a University degree. The very chiefest part of that education ought to be the capacity of the student to work independently, to use his own intelligence. Our lectures, therefore, should do the utmost they can to help the student to help himself, but they should not do more. We cannot, of course, altogether prevent this or that student from resorting to the vile methods of cram. We can refuse to aid and abet him in such courses, and by all the means in our power encourage him to use his own understanding. We may even seek to raise his aim to the love of learning for its own sake.

It may be asked how, under the present *régime*, the student

survives his lectures at all, if the mental strain involved is really so great. Is he gifted with exceptional powers of endurance? or has he a natural aptitude for taking notes? In a word, how has the system been able to establish itself in fact? I believe the answer is quite simple. To put it plainly, he does not give an unflagging attention to his lectures at all. Some of them he sits through; to some he gives wavering heed; some he follows with diligence. Probably it would be found that he takes assiduous notes at his English lectures and uses his discretion as to the rest. It may also be remembered that he can take a day off now and again at his good pleasure, and drop one or two of his lectures when too much bored, on any particular day. But these mitigations of his lot can hardly be said to make the system more satisfactory, or to conduce to habits of discipline, which last was the point from which we were led into this digression.

The demand for greater attention to the moral side of education is partly right and proper, partly quite unreasonable. It is right and proper so far as it means that we must increase, in all ways possible, the moral influences bearing on our students. It is right also so far as these influences are not yet as effective as could be wished. It is unreasonable, as seeming to press for direct moral and even direct religious *teaching* as part of the regular course of instruction. Religious influences, such as a boy comes under at an English Public School, are, from the very nature of the circumstances, altogether excluded. Any reflection on the matter must at once convince a reasonable mind of this. Even more, any teaching tending to foster religious narrowness and intolerance is positively hurtful. It is immoral anywhere, and in India to-day it is criminal. As to moral teaching, it is so delicate a matter that it cannot possibly be enjoined by rule. Lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen would be very doubtfully efficacious. The reason is, as Aristotle and others have explained, that the essence of morality is not knowing, but doing. Platitudes on duty and virtue do not necessarily influence conduct. A 'moral text-book,' if it means anything other than a treatise on ethics—and these already abound—is simply a psychological monstrosity. Socrates and his disciples were fond of discussing whether virtue could be taught; but it certainly cannot be taught by mere words; and even if virtue is, in a certain sense, knowledge, it is not knowledge that can form part of a University course, or be tested by examinations.

Yet, while this is so, undoubtedly the more steadily individual teachers keep in mind the supreme importance of the moral bearing of education, the more real is their influence on character likely to be. It is true also that, if the Principal of a College

feel able to address his students collectively on the deeper meanings of life and duty, not only has he the right to do so but there is even a kind of obligation that he should. Much good might be hoped from the earnest words of an earnest man. The published addresses of the late Chester Macnaghten to his pupils are admirable examples of what is possible. If such addresses—in not too great frequency—became a recognised usage, our University life would have advanced a step. At the same time such addresses would be better left a voluntary matter, and the attendance of students should be voluntary also. Constraint on either side would take away their chief efficacy.

In one way, I think, it would even be possible to introduce a religious element into the daily work of an Indian college. I do not think it impossible that a form of public prayer might be framed for use at the beginning and close of the day's work at places of education in India. I say, I do not think it impossible, though to most, probably, the idea will seem extravagant. There are universal elements common to all religions. The form devised must obviously confine itself to these. Enough would be left to express a common sense of reverence, a common need for help, a common love for what is pure and good. If this were possible, an outlet would have been found for the strong religious instincts of Indian students in direct connection with their daily studies. Hindu, Muhammedan and Christian would meet to acknowledge their human weakness, dependence and aspiration. The thought has a certain attraction. Attendance would, of course, be perfectly voluntary. The form would be read by the Principal of the College; or some suitable person at his request.

These more set means of meeting the demand for stronger moral influences are open to controversy. There are others, not open to controversy, which are in active operation: in regard to these, all that is needed is that we should clearly recognise their value, and use our best endeavour to turn them to fullest account. Not least among these is the influence of manly games. The importance of physical education in its bearing on character may, no doubt, be exaggerated. It is not a moral necessity that the increasing popularity of English games will be followed straightway by a revolution of Indian character, even as regards those particular qualities which are most naturally called out on the playing-field—courage, self-reliance and presence of mind. It is possible to play cricket and football, and yet to be small-minded, garrulous, and possessed by a lying spirit. A young man may even become a distinguished athlete and remain a blackguard; he may even become a worse blackguard than before, because more vigorous and

physically effective. Yet, notwithstanding the admission, it is fairly well-established that games exercise in the main a wholesome influence ; their tendency is towards a more healthy type of manhood. They certainly furnish opportunities for the development of certain good qualities. From the present point of view their chief advantage is that they cultivate a kind of public spirit, the lack of which was the third of the points above enumerated as needing attention. Success at cricket and football depends on more than individual play : it is attained by the loyal co-operation of all under chosen leaders ; by each player keeping his place and controlling his action in relation to others. Games thus offer a discipline in combination, and the subordination of self to a common end. They teach loyalty and obedience. This they must do to some extent by their very nature. Their teaching, too, is natural and unconscious. It comes insensibly, by habit and in the form of play. There is small fear that the movement for athletics now set going vigorously throughout India will die down. But it is not amiss to be assured that we are in the right track ; that the tendencies of the times are to be encouraged. As regards schools and colleges there is still much to be done before we have all that is wanted. It is especially important to encourage games at schools : for, besides that games of all kinds are more natural and proper for boys, if our school boys get a fondness for games, they will themselves take care that their energies find the right outlet when they become college students. But, as regards the colleges, the provision of a cricket-ground in the immediate vicinity of the college is a pressing requirement. The difficulties are great when the college is in the midst of a town : sometimes they may be insuperable. At least we may say that no Government college ought to be inadequately provided in this respect. In this, as in all else, the function of the Government college is to hold up the type of a model college, adequately equipped. To have its full usefulness, the ground must be actually adjoining the college.

Closely connected with the subject of moral influences is the problem of due provision for the student's welfare in respect of housing and sanitation and general superintendence out of college hours. This hostel question, which has not lacked attention of late, is an appallingly big question. We are alive to the responsibility, and it can no longer be ignored. Something has been already done; but it is very little compared with what remains to do. In its full extent the enterprise is no less than to find proper boarding accommodation for some thousands of Indian students—for all, in fact, who are unable to live in the houses of relatives and friends.

A hostel here and there, opened with a flourish of trumpets, does not meet the case at all. While a single student remains in undesirable surroundings, or in an insanitary lodging, our work is not done. If we—that is the community, and in particular the collective body of educated men—are responsible for student A, we are responsible for student B, and so on down to Z. Of course, Government, as such, is not responsible for all. It is responsible only for its own institutions. But it is responsible for these.

We may well despair of the accomplishment of so vast an undertaking within any definite limit of years. But there is, I venture to think, a partial solution of this problem, the practicability of which is at least worth considering. At Oxford and Cambridge many undergraduates live out of college, in lodgings. All such lodgings are, however, under careful supervision. There is a Board which inspects houses, and, after inspection, licenses private persons to receive undergraduates as lodgers. If the houses do not come up to the required standard in any particular, the license is withheld or revoked. It is just conceivable that this system might be adapted to Indian needs; that, in neighbourhoods where a college is situated, we might have Boards composed of private gentlemen interested in education, and officials in responsible positions, whose business it should be to look after the welfare of students. These Boards should possess jurisdiction over a limited area in two respects: (1) to inspect lodging-houses and license them to receive a certain number of students; (2) to remove from this area any influences likely to be injurious to the good order and discipline of students, or to thrust temptation in their way. There would be difficulties, no doubt. They would be less in the Mofussil than in Calcutta. The experiment might at least be tried. The practice of licensing houses for the accommodation of pilgrims offers some sort of precedent. At all events, now that the duty has come to be recognised, the necessity for some comprehensive scheme grows urgent. It is admitted that to leave a large number of students utterly uncared for, to shift for themselves as best they can, is a form of *laissez faire* that cannot be defended.

It remains to say something of the most potent influence of all, which is neither open to controversy, nor has ever been absent from the training of our colleges since their foundation. I mean the indirect influences of the scheme of instruction as a whole, acting insensibly in subtle ways—through the discipline of regular courses of study and a high standard of punctuality and order, through the tonic effect of the books studied, often masterpieces in their kind and



in the best sense stimulating, and not least in the teacher's personal influence finding its opportunity in the ordinary work of teaching and lecturing. It may be objected that the total effect has been disappointing. But it would be unjust to suppose that the more simple elements of English character, straightforwardness, sense of duty, fairness, sincerity in word and deed, have had no influence at all on the men turned out by our Universities. Their effects can be traced unmistakeably in the testimonies that have not been wanting to the superior 'morale' of Indian graduates: their remoter effects extend much more widely. The Englishmen engaged in the work of our Indian colleges—I speak only of the members of the educational services because they are more publicly responsible—if not exactly "picked men," are a body of men of good average qualifications, who are allowed to have invariably set an example of the conscientious discharge of duty. Their moral influence as a body, through the system of which they have had the working organisation, cannot have failed of effect. The influence of not a few among them has been much more than this—the example of a high-minded devotion to their calling; in all its aspects not inferior to that of the best men in other spheres of life, or engaged in the great work of education elsewhere. This can fairly be claimed. If we want more from them in the present, it is because more is becoming possible. The conditions of educational work in India are peculiar. The new departure began under circumstances which involved many embarrassments and hindrances to the best work. Obstacles to the most satisfactory relations between teachers and their pupils still remain. But great changes are happening. Much is possible now which was not possible twenty or thirty years ago, and, as the opportunities improve, the demand on the educationist rises. Education men have, as a body, always done their duty. They must now do more than their duty.

In venturing to touch upon the responsibility of the men who come out from England to take part, as public servants, in the work of an Indian college, I am conscious of the extreme difficulty of saying anything to the purpose. For one thing, no rules can be laid down as to what a man is bound to do outside the specified routine of bare duty, and any attempt to dogmatise would be impertinent as well as useless. Only it is impossible not to see how many and how varied, are the claims that an Indian college now makes on one who has the ends of education really at heart. There are, in fact, two classes of public servants in India who can never fulfil the inner demands of their "office," by the simple discharge

of prescribed duties—the members of the great executive service and officers of the education department. On the recognition of this higher obligation by the members of these two services individually, the well-being of the Indian Empire will in the future more and more depend. Education men occupy, by the very nature of their work, an unique, even an anomalous, position, in the stately fabric of Indian officialdom. They are—in a sense different from any other branch of the public service—a national institution; they exist for India in a sense in which no other department does. The reason is plain. They are no part of the great protective and coercive machinery which holds together the Indian Empire as a dependency of Great Britain. Their function is not to control, but to help and teach. They come to India as a supreme proof that British rule is no longer founded upon the sword, however keen that sword still be, however strong the hand that holds it sheathed. They are a message of peace and brotherhood. They bring with them the fender of great benefits freely offered. They alone, therefore, among Englishmen in India, are not permitted to take an outside view of native character; for they must criticise as friends and fellow-workers. The educationist in virtue of his position must begin by regarding his pupils—their faults and weaknesses, as well as their good qualities—sympathetically. He must try to understand them, to enter into their position and difficulties, even to see India somewhat with their eyes. Otherwise he cannot achieve the very object for which he has come. He is a teacher; he cannot teach effectively, unless he can win the minds and hearts of those whom he teaches. He is a guide; but his guidance is nought unless he persuade some to follow. He has come on a mission to enlighten and elevate: he cannot lift up unless he will first stoop to reach those he is to raise. In a word, he has, in plain fact, been called to a right noble and excellent work, and, unless he deeply realises the greatness of the work and its many-sided obligations, he is not likely to make it much of a success.

What is needed for educational work in India is the missionary spirit. There should be no fear that this phrase may be misunderstood. All true education is itself a mission, and I mean, by the missionary spirit, the spirit of whole-hearted devotion to that work for its own sake. Yet we might, if we would, take example practically from some of the work done by Christian missionaries and in this very field of education—for instance from the work of the Oxford Mission in Calcutta. The first and last word is, the educationist must recognise the sacred character of the

work of education, that sacred character which ancient India so profoundly realised. Without this reverence for his work, here in India, as elsewhere, the sense of its dignity and value, and the ungrudging desire to spend himself for it, the teacher's work will be formal, lifeless and unproductive. The teacher must have enthusiasm, and, in a broad sense, well-wishing, or benevolence: enthusiasm for all forms of excellence, well-wishing towards those he teaches, the sincere desire to draw out what is best in them, to make them true men. Such a sense of his work and of its importance will naturally flow out beyond the class-room, and compel him to seek for other means of fulfilling the obligation imposed by its tacit claims.

In what ways can one who acknowledges this self-imposed duty find scope? The answer is not easy. It is clear, however, that it must begin in closer personal relations between students and their teachers. We must distinctly aim at bringing this about. Much is denied by the actual conditions, and it is only folly to try and ignore these limits. We may as well admit once and for all that a certain sense of separation, a certain constraint, the absence of a perfect mutual understanding, is inevitable in the relations of English professors and their Indian pupils. Between those who are so widely separated in essential points in habits and ways of thinking, the happiest social freedom is possible only in the rarest instances. But, granting all this, much that is pleasant and mutually beneficial is still possible, and it is our business to make the most of it. There should be a fairly wide platform of common ideas and interests on which students and professors may meet, and, as present tendencies develope, it will broaden.

The result in time will be that common life of which I spoke in the beginning. Unfortunately, the external conditions necessary to the full development of that life are wanting at most, if not all, Bengal colleges. What these conditions are is pleasantly exhibited in the features of the Agra College briefly described above. They have been realised also in the handsome colleges founded in India for the education of native chieftains and noblemen, like the Colvin College at Lucknow. India is not without examples of the ideal college visible in concrete reality; only we must travel outside Bengal to find them. The most essential conditions are three; boarding-houses, or hostels, for resident students, houses for a resident staff, or at the least a resident Principal, and grounds suitable for cricket and football. So long as we are unable to attain these bare essentials, the common life possible must be a good deal hampered and restricted, if not fatally maimed.

We want, in fact, a resident college, living a life self-contained and self-sufficing, apart from the rest of the world, with all the energies of its members centred in the college and its interests. Unfortunately there seems little immediate prospect of colleges of this type arising in Bengal. Yet, I think it might be contended that the few colleges which are to be maintained as Government institutions should be ultimately made to realise these conditions. It is generally admitted that resident schools and colleges are better than non-resident. The attempt which is being made in various parts of India to realise this type *partially* seems to concede as much. Should not, then, a college which enjoys the prestige of State-maintenance exhibit the type *as completely as possible*? The educational value of the complete collegiate life is beyond dispute, and resident students and resident professors are its indispensable conditions. The great success of the Aligarh College illustrates the advantage of a large proportion of resident students. The advantages of a resident Principal, or, better, a resident staff, are pretty obvious without comment, though in India there are certainly circumstances which somewhat complicate the matter. In proof of the real gain which is nevertheless to be expected, I cannot do better than quote the remarks of a Principal of the Government College, Lahore, on his own experience. This gentleman says in his report : " In October, 1892, I took up my abode in the house provided in the college grounds and have daily visited and inspected the boarding-house premises. The result has been to bring me into much closer personal acquaintance with my students, while enabling me at the same time to supervise them more thoroughly ; I can now speak with confidence of the character of most of them."

There is a real fear, not unconfirmed by a desultory perusal of provincial reports on education, that Bengal is falling behind somewhat in these and other matters. It is the younger Universities, that are most active in educational ideas and most practically go-a-head. Doubtless the Universities lately founded have been able to profit by the mistakes of the elder. It is also easier to build anew, than to tinker an existing institution. But, even compared with Bombay and Madras, Bengal does not compare altogether favourably, if we look deeper than mere numbers. Bengal must look to her educational laurels. In this particular matter, even admitting the impossibility of converting Government colleges straightway to the resident type, it might be kept steadily in view, as an integral part of the programme of a revised educational policy, to make the change gradually in the course of time, as opportunity offers. It would be a step forward to get the

advantage recognised and the principle accepted. We cannot compass impossibilities; but with good will, and a clear perception of the end to be wished, we can carry achievement to the utmost limits of the possible. Among the many schemes proposed for commemorating the great event of this year, there has not been, as far as I am aware, any suggestion for a great educational monument such as would be a college of the kind I am speaking of, or providing Calcutta with hostels on a large scale. Yet what could be more suitable to the occasion, or more accordant with the genius of the people of Bengal?

Be all this as it may, inasmuch as resident colleges suitably furnished in all respects are at present rather to be wished for than expected, we must fall back on such accessories of our common life as are possible under existing circumstances. Athletic clubs, debating societies, libraries and reading-rooms are all numbered among these lesser elements, and in their several departments minister to those common emotions and interests, which form the inner side of the common life which is our aim. Speaking broadly, the more these are encouraged, the richer will the elements of that life be; and the more our educationist interests himself and even shares in these activities the better. Especially valuable is the reading or common room. Every college should possess one. It should be furnished with papers and magazines; and students might become members on payment of a small subscription. Professors would help to keep these going, and, as honorary members, might make the reading-room an opportunity for occasionally meeting students on friendly terms. If conditions favoured, informal social gatherings might be held here, or in some other convenient part of the college buildings—a sort of *conversazione*, at which students and professors should exchange ideas more freely than in the class-room, doubtless to their mutual advantage. The form of these entertainments would naturally vary with the judgment of the host and the character of the students invited. On special occasions the ‘flow of soul’ might be stimulated by the mild exhilaration of tea and coffee, soda-water and lemonade; nor is the average student usually in these days above the seduction of mixed biscuits.

Another useful institution, not altogether unknown, but capable of indefinite development, would be afternoon or evening lectures of a popular character given by members of the college staff, or any one else who could be found with something to say. There is a wide range of subjects to choose from, especially when it is remembered how much that is bound up with his English education lies outside the experience of the average student. What is part almost of the English-

man's mental structure is strange to him. Sketches of English social life, descriptions of London and of English country scenery, accounts of journeys, of European cities, of cathedrals and castles readily occur as among subjects that would be suitable and interesting. History offers a wide selection, Ancient India, India before the British Raj, Alexander's invasion, Greek influence on Indian art, or, turning to Europe, the English constitution, the history of Parliaments, social problems in Europe, the French Revolution, Napoleon, the Russian Empire, and so on. Literature would prove an inexhaustible source of inspiration. Thackeray or Scott or Dickens, Tennyson or Shelley, Chaucer or the Elizabethan poets, according to the bent of the lecturer's preferences. There are besides, art and archæology, philosophical and kindred subjects and the whole world of science. We might even, on occasion, admit the general public to these lectures, and make the first humble beginnings of a University extension movement. A college should aim at being in its way a small centre of culture.

These all might find place in the larger life which it would be well to foster at our colleges, and would count among the ethical influences which it would be the chief purpose of that life to deepen. There is also this more confident answer to be made to complaints of the weakness of our education on this side. What are the particular virtues which we should most wish our public colleges to inculcate? Surely those in which the Indian character is deficient. Of the froth and fervour of effusive sentiment and a cheap benevolence we have enough, and to spare. In some amiable characteristics and especially the virtues that belong to the closer relations of life, our students even excel. It is a robust and more stable morality that we have to produce, and such sterner virtues as strict uprightness of dealing and sense of public duty. It is precisely these which our whole system, with its almost aggressive righteousness and strict impartiality is calculated to foster. Loyalty and disinterested public spirit are difficult lessons. The student is learning the lesson so far as he can be brought to realise the college as an ideal whole of which he is a part, an institution the honour of which is a better spur to exertion than mere self-interest, an object in the love of which he is bound to generous sympathy and emulation with his fellow-students.

As these various influences on character tell, and only as they tell, it will become possible also to raise the aims at intellectual achievement in a really vital way. The reliance on mere verbal memory as the only means to success in passing examinations, the obstinate addiction to cram which is so widespread among students and does so much to render fruitless every effort we may make to give a real educational value to

the courses prescribed by the University, can effectually be met only by raising the standard of aspiration. Now this, even in the intellectual field, is largely a matter of moral attitude of mind. It depends on a recognition of the claims of the true, the beautiful and the good. Love of knowledge for its own sake and love of truth are closely connected. When the student subsumes—not necessarily consciously, better by unconscious habit—the various activities of his college career under the category of duty, our present intractable difficulty in the matter of cram will tend of itself to pass away. Something was said of the extent of the evil in treating of the Calcutta Examination system from the narrower academic standpoint, and of the need of combating it resolutely and by all the means in our power. It acts like a canker which absorbs all the nourishment which should form and strengthen the minds of our students. But the only finally effective remedy is the raising of the whole level of 'education' in Indian colleges; making it something better and nobler. It may be hoped that the various influences now passed in review will severally contribute each its little bias to this. The need is for a new spirit animating our whole system and all concerned with it. We want to put behind us, or at least to sink into a secondary place, the prevalent commercial estimate of education. 'English education,'—and 'English' education has become synonymous with 'liberal' education—is too much valued at its market price. It must be valued for itself, and as a means to a truer and nobler life. If that can be attained, the rest will follow.

In this vitalising of our collegiate education, which is a re-awakening of the spirit that first inspired the educational movement, rather than the creating of a new soul within it, several factors must combine. We want first a new spirit in our students. We want another Hindu revival than that which makes most noise, a revival of that ancient love of wisdom for its own sake which inspired Hindu thought, until it was hardened by custom and sterilised. In this let Indian students emulate the primitive times which the Hindus of to-day delight to look back upon and to adorn fancifully.

We want an intensified zeal and earnestness in our teachers and professors. They are the leaders and inspirers: let them not fall short of their high calling. If they are Englishmen, let them realise how vitally the future of India depends upon their work to-day. Let them work while there is time. Englishmen in India have shown abundantly their ability to fight, to organize, to rule; let them show also their ability to teach. Surely it is not a less noble task, a less exalted duty. If they are of Indian race, the obligation is not less that they should show themselves capable of the best work. They owe a

double loyalty—a loyalty to the land of their birth ; let them show an enlightened patriotism in their love of true learning and zeal in the cause of education ; a loyalty to England ; let them not cast a slur upon the enlightenment by which they have reached their responsible position.

Something depends also on the Imperial Government to whose initiation in the past English education in India is due ; which therefore can never wholly unburden itself of the responsibility for its success or failure. If it fails—if higher education becomes, as some fear, a danger, not a source of strength, to the empire—the failure cannot entirely be shifted to an Education Department or any innate depravity of Indian character. English rule in India is not guiltless unless all possible means have been tried to ensure success ; and among these means must be reckoned a generous and sincere sympathy with the cause of education, as such. If the work is continued in a grudging spirit, or with ill-concealed reluctance, it will not be surprising if the meed of praise which is justly due, be missed. Along with this I set a plea for a more indulgent feeling towards English education on the part of Englishmen in India generally ; more tolerance for the cruder results which offend English sense of fitness. Let the strong bear with the infirmities of the weak : a true superiority shows itself in greater magnanimity.

Lastly from the men of ' English education ' we want more restraint, more modesty, more reverence, the self-respect that respects others, a greater sense of responsibility. A good deal may be expected from them, for much has been given. Let them, above all, acknowledge to themselves the gift, and show their sense of obligation to the giver. Liberal education is England's noblest gift to India. If nothing else—instead of almost everything else which makes life worth living—had been given, it would establish a claim for all time.

In conclusion, it is not amiss to acknowledge gratefully to ourselves how much has been done ; how much education in India is alive. In respect of almost every form of activity touched upon in what has preceded, a good deal has already been achieved, and more is being done from year to year. But I have left myself no space to do justice to this more cheerful line of thought ; who will, may read in the bewildering pages of the latest Annual or Quinquennial Reports—bewildering on account of the vastness of the figures, the magnitude and variety of the operations in progress. Last year, too,—with Ranjitsinghi the hero of the British democracy, and Mr. J. C. Bose, a European celebrity in the field of science, besides a growing list of lesser distinctions for the men bred in Indian Universities—may well rank as the ' annus mirabilis ' of ' English education



in India.' Let who will, carp—forty years of English education are bearing remarkable fruit ! If what has been accomplished ever seem small, it is only by comparison with all that remains to do. After all, little more is needed than to press forward with a good heart in the lines of progress that have been marked out. Only it must be really a forward movement, and it must be sustained by enough of quiet enthusiasm to bear a few failures and an occasional grotesqueness of result, due to the imperfect congruity between the environment and the work we have taken in hand to do. What we most of all need is faith—faith in our own purpose, faith in the work of education itself and the supreme worth of doing it.

H. R. J.

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## ART. XII.—EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

### THE UPANAYANA OR REBIRTH.

THE Sanhitas describe the Upanayana (ceremony of investiture with the sacred thread) as a birth and the second and best birth. Manu says, (1st Chap., verse 169) : The first birth is from a natural mother ; the second from the ligation of the zone ; the third from the due performance of the sacrifice : such are the births of him who is usually called twice-born, according to the text of the Veda (verse 170). " Among them, his divine birth is that which is distinguished by the ligation of the zone and sacrificial cord ; and in that birth, the Gayatri is his mother, and the Acharya his father."

According to Aryan conception, birth has to be followed by a rebirth before a man can be called a man. This is the high standpoint from which the Aryans regarded knowledge ; and entrance to it they conceived as a second birth. This conception naturally exalted the position of the Acharya, who opened the gate to such knowledge.

" Manu says : He who tries and faithfully fills both ears with the Veda, must be considered as equal to a mother ; he must be revered as a father ; him the pupil must never grieve (1st Chap. verse, 144).

This idea of rebirth was carried so far that, according to the Grihya Sutra of Gobhilla, as also of Khadira and the Sanhitas, at the initiation the teacher chooses for him a name which he was to use in respectful salutations. II Prapathaka, 10 Kandika, verse 26, and, again, it was laid down that birth, which his principal Acharya, who knows the whole Veda, procures for him by his divine mother, the Gayatri, is a true birth, that birth is exempt from age and from death." Further on it will be shown, when treating of the discipline of students, how they were to behave towards their Acharya.

### EDUCATION RELIGIOUS.

The Aryan boys, with their initiation, commenced the Gayatri which the Aryans held to be the essence of all religion, and from the Gayatri they proceeded to the knowledge of the Vedas, and then to the other branches of knowledge, while they had to perform a number of rituals pertaining to the condition of Brahmacharya at stated periods. Manu : " Till he be invested with the signs of his class, he must not pronounce any sacred text, except what ought to be used in obsequies to an ancestor ; since he is on a level with a Sudra before his new birth from the revealed Scripture," Chap, 1st,

verse 172. And, again, "from him who has been duly invested, are required both the performance of devout acts and the study of the Veda in order preceded by stated ceremonies." Chap. I, verse 172.

#### EDUCATION COMPULSORY

Such being this lofty conception of knowledge and especially of religious knowledge, the Sutras prescribed, (*vide* Grihya Sutra of Gobhilla, Kandika 10, verse 1): In the eighth year after the conception let him (father) initiate a Brahmana (verse 2); in the eleventh year after the conception a Kshatriya (verse 3); in the twelfth year after the conception, a Vaisya. Until the sixteenth year the time has not passed for a Brahmana; until the twenty-second for a Kshatriya; until the twenty-fourth for a Vaisya (verse 4). After that time had passed, they became Patita Savitrika, *i.e.*, they lost their right of being taught the Sabitri, (verse 5). "Let them not initiate such men, nor teach them, nor perform matrimonial alliances with them" (verse, 6). A stronger sanction for making education compulsory could not have been invented. The modern way is, I suppose, to impose a fine on the father, by the Magistrate, at the instance of an Education Board; but here was a social sanction which nobody would ever venture to disregard.

The Patita Savitrika came to be degraded from his caste, after which all communion with their caste people ceased. The sanction affected the pupil and not the parents, and the period at which the social sanctions were to attach, was fixed at a period when boys would arrive at their age of adolescence; so that, in extreme cases, if their parents did not send them to the Guru for instruction, they might go to him of themselves; but no parents would be so cruel as, in view of the social sanctions, to neglect this duty to their sons, especially as, in the Grihya Sutras it was laid down on the part of the parents as a religious duty which they were bound to observe.

#### EDUCATION UNIVERSAL.

It follows also that education was universal. It was compulsory, for the classes of Brahmins, Kshetryas and Vaisyas, who were the only Aryan people. It is clear that the Grihya Sutras laid down, at an earlier period of the Aryan settlement in India the rules of conduct, in daily life, as they had always been traditionally handed down to the Aryans from time immemorial, and at that period the Sudras were altogether out of account. They were the Dasyas (robbers), or Dases (slaves), living outside the Aryan settlements.

#### CEREMONY OF INITIATION.

Khadira Grihya Sutra, Khandha 4, verse 7, and the follow-

ing. After the student's hair has been arranged, and he has been adorned, and dressed in a garment which has not yet been washed, the teacher begins with a mantra to Agni (Fire.) He should cause the student to stand northwards of the fire, facing the west, and to join his hands; and he should himself join his hands above the student's hands. A Brahmin versed in the mantras who stands towards the south, should fill the teacher's joined hands with water; while the student looks at him, the teacher should murmur the mantra to the effect, "with him who comes to us let there be peace." Then he gives the student a new name, which he should use in respectful salutations. Having let the water run (out of his joined hands over the student's hands), the teacher should seize with his two hands, holding the right uppermost, the student's joined hands, with the formula: By the impulse of the god Sabitri.

With the formula: Move in the sun's course, he should make him turn round from left to right. He then should give him in charge of the gods. Having directed him to observe the duties of Brahmacharya by the formula: 'A student art thou,' the teacher, sitting down, should, from left to right, tie round the student, who bends his right knee, and clasps his hands, the girdle made of manga grass, and should cause him to repeat some verses.

With the words: "Recite, sir," the student should respectfully sit down near the teacher.

He then recites the Savitri to him, pada by pada, hemistich by hemistich, and finally the whole. Thus he should teach him the Savitri and the Mahavyah rites one by one, and the word *Om*.

He then hands over to him the staff, which should be made of the wood of a tree, with the formula which the student has to recite: 'O glorious one, make me glorious.' Let him put a piece of wood on the fire, with the verse: 'To Agni a piece of wood.'

Let him go to beg food. First of his mother then of other women friends. He should announce the alms (received) to his teacher.

The Khadira Grihya Sutra, though essentially the same as the Gobbilla Sutra, is merely an abbreviation thereof; thus Gobbilla, Kandika 10, verse 7, begins: "On the day on which the youth is going to receive the initiation, on that day, early in the morning, they give him to eat, and have his hair arranged, and wash him, and deck him with ornaments and put on him a new garment which has not yet been washed."

After giving him to the charge of the gods the guru, according to Gobbilla, directs the student thus: "A student art thou. Put on fuel. Eat water. Do the service. Sleep not in the day

time." To the same effect Hiranya Kesin ; but it gives further details of the ceremony.

Prasana 1. Patala 2. Section 5. 1. "To him who comes to us, we have come. Drive ye away death. May we walk safely ; may he walk here in bliss ; may he walk in bliss until he returns to his house." This verse the teacher repeats, while the boy walks round the fire so as to keep his right side turned towards it. The teacher then causes him to say : "I have come hither to be a student. Initiate me ; I will be a student impelled by the god Savitri."

Then the teacher touches, with his right hand, the boy's right shoulder, and with his left hand the left shoulder, and draws the boy's right arm towards himself with the Vyah rites, the Savitri verse, and with the formula : "By the impulse of the god Savitri ;" touches the place of his heart with the formulas : "Thy heart shall dwell in my heart ; my mind thou shalt follow with thy mind ; in my word thou shalt rejoice with all thy heart : may Brihaspati join this to me. To me alone thou shalt adhere. In me thy thoughts shall dwell. Upon me thy veneration shall be bent ; when I speak, thou shalt be silent ; may I be beloved and dear to thee."

"He keeps the same observances afterwards, also dwelling in his teacher's house."

Probably there was some meaning attached to each of these forms, which appear now dry as dust ; or they had nothing in them ; but that the rituals would impress the boy as the turning point of his life, with the rules prescribed for his conduct and the discipline he was to undergo thereafter, does not admit of any doubt. The mantras recited were beautiful, and if the teachers felt what they contained, and what they repeated, it would soon go to establish that beautiful relation which they professed to bring about. They were, in fact, intended as words of filiation by the spiritual father of his spiritual son, under circumstances as solemn as could be devised. It was in this spirit that the tutorial charge in ancient India commenced.

#### EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA AT PUBLIC CHARGE.

It does appear from the above and the Samavartava ceremony, which followed, on the finishing of the student's course of education, the return home, not to the paternal roof, but to set himself up as a householder, that the parents divested themselves of all the care of the son, immediately after the Upa-nayana ceremony. There is no mention in either the Grihya Sutras or the Sanhitas, that between the time when the student departed for the guru's house and the Samavartava, he would return to his parents even during a holiday, and there were many such, or in season of sickness. It does not appear that

any maintenance allowance used to be sent to him from home, whatever his rank. For, on his initiation, he assumed the garb of an anchorite, and was to subsist by begging, not from his parents, or his own relatives, but from householders in general. The guru gave him also the bowl; clad in his anchorite garb, with his staff (*danda*) as his only companion, he went about the neighbourhood of his guru's house and begged for alms every morning; and, as soon as he got enough, he returned to his guru's place, and, after giving him the first offering out of his alms-bowl, and observing certain rituals, took only as much food as would suffice for his sustenance. He also fetched the sacrificial wood and water for his guru. This appears to have been the daily routine, excepting during days when he happened to be ill. Thus the education of every youth was at the public charge, not by taxes, or under State organisation, but by a method which was archaic and peculiarly the Aryan's own. It was a religious obligation on every Aryan to maintain the students, and this they could not depart from without incurring sin. The plan answered much better than the obligation to pay taxes, to be spent on Government organisations, under the name of an educational cess. It looked like a voluntary contribution; but, though voluntary, nobody ever dreamt of evading the payment by the denial of a morsel of food to a student. The parents did not pay for the education or maintenance of their sons; but they had, as householders, to contribute for that of others. When students belonging to rich as well as poor parents alike had thus to subsist by begging, and it was a part of the Bramhacharyya which they had to follow, and the practice was general, and there happened to be no public opinion against it, the degradation of the course, as we now view it, would scarcely be felt; and, as the student begged for himself, as well as for his guru, and it was the student's only return to the guru during his apprenticeship, the fee in kind for his tuition, and the limit, too, was fixed, as the quantity that would suffice for both these purposes and no more, no resultant vice could possibly grow out of it. On the contrary, the system made the boys self-reliant from their early youth, and thus they grew to manhood, unlike the boys on whom, in our days, parents have to bestow any amount of care and money. Too much of anything, they say, is vice, and even too much of parental devotion to children, as at the present day, is not free from that stain. It is making our boys soft, effeminate and helpless.

Compared with the Spartan system, which erred on the other side, the ancient Indian system does not suffer.

## WHO WERE THE PROFESSORS AND TEACHERS.

Everyone who had set himself as a householder, on the completion of his studies, was ordained to teach, Apastabma Prasana 1, Patala 4, Khanda 14, verse 3. He whom a student asks for instruction shall not refuse it, provided he does not see in him any disqualification. But for initiation, a student or rather his father, was to seek a man in whose family sacred learning was hereditary, who himself possessed it, and who was devout in following the law, and under him the sacred science was to be studied until the end, provided the teacher did not fall off from the ordinances of the law. Apastabma. This is the Akarya from whom the pupil gathered his knowledge of his religious duties (Dharman).

It was not always the Akarya who taught ; but any one else could teach at the Akarya's command.

It was the duty of the Akarya to instruct him in the Vratas, and one branch of the Veda (together with the Angas). The Vratas of the student were certain observances to be kept by him before he was admitted to the regular course of study of the Vedas, and again before he was allowed to proceed to the study of the higher stages of Vedic learning.

An Upakarya (sub-teacher), after he has been initiated by another, could teach him either an entire branch of the Veda, in consideration of a fee, or part of the Veda without taking a fee (Vishnu Sanhita XXIX, verses 1 and 2). But he could go to others for being taught only an Anga of the Veda.

Even a new Brahminical teacher was permitted in the absence of a Brahminical teacher ; and the pupils were to show to him the same respect as to a Brahmin. Some of the Upanishads were taught by Khsatrya Rajanas to Brahmins.

In the days earlier than the Sanhita there was no writing, and everything had to be committed to memory. Learning, therefore, naturally descended from father to son. Especially was this the case with the Puranas, which were almost all recited by a descendant of an old Rishi from whom he had heard it.

In the later literature of the Hindus, mention is made of females as tutors. Malatti Madhava gives such an instance.

That the Akarya alone could not look to all the branches of education of a youth, appears clear also from the fact, that, though this Akarya Brahmin initiated the Kshatryas and Vaisayas, *i. e.*, other than Brahmins, the programme of study for them could not have been the same as for the latter. Hence it would seem that, after the boys had learnt the Gayatri, the Vratas and some portion of the Vedas, they used to go for special instruction in their own line of business to other

teachers. Apprenticeship to trades is fully indicated, but this will be treated under a head by itself.

**EDUCATION, PRIMARY GENERAL, PRIMARY SPECIAL,  
ADVANCED GENERAL AND ADVANCED SPECIAL.**

It was not the three Rs., as now, that formed the primary standard in the early days of the Sūtras. For, writing being unknown, reading was not required, and as for the other R, the process was yet being invented. The Sūtras apply to this early condition of civilization in India, and what is meant by education, is the recitation of the Vedas, the knowledge of the Phonetics and the Angas of the Vedas; the Atharvas required an Akaryaya of its own and instruction in Vratas rituals and the practice thereof.

The primary education, therefore, in the early days consisted of the recitation of the Gyatri, instructions in the Vratas, *i. e.*, certain observances which were to be kept by the student before he could be admitted to the regular course of study of the Vedas; one branch of the Vedas together with the Angas, such as that relating to the Phonetics and the rest. What it came to be at the date of the Sanhitas, when the alphabets and writing came into vogue, is not shown; but references there to the education of ascetics (as in Vasistā, Chap. X, verse 20) speak of the pursuit of the science of words (Grammar); and probably, at that date, this knowledge of the science of words (Grammar), which subsequently formed the primary course in the curriculum of studies of a student, was added to the primary course.

The advanced course was the study of all the four Vedas, or the sacred science, the study of each of which was to take twelve years, or three-fourths of that time on the whole, during which time residence in the house of the teacher was enjoined; but the Sanhitas refer to a text in the Vedas under which it was the duty of every one to set up as a householder before his hair was yet black.

As for the primary special and advanced special, indications of it will be found under the head "apprenticeship to trade."

But though the differences of primary, secondary and superior education are indicated, the system observed was the same, and the rules were the same. The education was at the public charge, whatever its nature. There was a free board, free lodging, and free education for all kinds of students, whether they were at the primary stage, or were advanced. Only the earnings of the pupils belonged of right to the teachers; certain savings from the students were his also, as from an apprentice bound, and at the end of the term, *i. e.*, on the completion of studies, the tutor was entitled to a voluntary gift, fee, or gratuity. At



present, under the system that prevails in Germany and France, all kinds of education, primary, secondary, and superior, are equally supported by the State. The policy which is finding favour in India, that all State grants for education should be spent on primary education, and that secondary and higher education have no claims to them, finds favour neither in the European Continental system of education, nor in the systems pursued in ancient India.

#### APPRENTICESHIP TO TRADE.

Vrihaspati describes an apprentice:—Arts, consisting of works in gold, husbandry and the like, and the art of dancing and the rest, are called human sciences; let him, who studies these, perform work in his teacher's house. Narada says: Let him, who wishes to acquire his own art, with the assent of his kinsmen, reside near an instructor, fixing a well ascertained period of apprenticeship.

Let the teacher instruct him, giving him a maintenance in his own house; and not employ him in other work, but treat him as a son.

Chaityana directs a penalty for employing an apprentice in other work:—He who does not instruct his scholar in the art, and causes him to perform other work, shall incur the first accesment; and the pupil is therefore released.

Narada says:—But he who deserts his teacher, though instructing him and not culpable, shall be compelled by forcible means to reside with him, and is liable to stripes and confinement.

And, again:—Though he have learned his art, the apprentice must fulfil his stipulated time; and the profit of his labour during that period shall belong to his teacher. To the same effect Yajnyawalkya. Though he has acquired his art, the apprentice must reside in his master's house during the period stipulated, receiving his subsistence from the teacher, and giving to him the fruit of his art.

Narada also says:—At the expiration of the period, the apprentice, having acquired his art and formally delivering to his teacher the best reward in his power, departs with his permission.

The art here is interpreted by commentators to mean skill in business which requires study; but is different from sacred science, is human knowledge. That which the apprentice learns for the sake of wealth, as distinguished from the sacred science which he studies for the sake of duty.

'Gold, husbandry and the like' comprehends work in wood, traffic, and the rest. It includes the art of medicine according to Mitakshara. 'Dancing and the like' include singing and so forth.

The use of the birch by way of discipline. Apastamba says:—Prasana I, Patala I, Khanda I, verse 29. If the pupil commits faults, the teacher shall reprove him. 30. Frightening, fasting, bathing in cold water and banishment from the teacher's presence are the punishments which are to be employed, according to the greatness of the fault, until the pupil leaves off sinning.

Gautama, Chap. II, verse 42. As a rule, a pupil shall not be punished corporally, verse 43. If no other course is possible, he may be corrected with a thin rope and a thin cane. 44. If the teacher strikes him with any other instrument, he shall be punished by the king.

The teacher should himself inflict the stripes, or other punishment, according to law, not on a noble part by any means.

Some hold, that a pupil may be punished by the teacher, if the pupilage were undertaken with the assent of kinsmen.

#### DISCIPLINE.

After the ceremony of initiation, the student shall dwell in the house of his spiritual teacher and nowhere else. He shall recite his morning and evening prayers. He shall mutter the morning prayer standing and the evening prayer sitting. In the evening and the morning he shall fetch water in a vessel for the use of his teacher. Daily he shall fetch fuel from the forest and place it on the floor in his teacher's house; but he shall not go to fetch water or firewood after sunset. After having swept the ground around the altar, and after having sprinkled it with water, he shall place the sacred fuel on the fire every morning and evening according to the prescription of the Grihya. He must plunge in the water in bathing, motionless like a stick. Let him study when called by his teacher. He has to act so as to please his teacher and to be serviceable to him. He shall wear his girdle, his staff, his skin, and his sacrificial string. He shall go begging at the houses of virtuous persons. He may eat every morning and evening some of the food collected by begging after having obtained permission from his guru. He must occupy a low couch. He must rise before his guru, and go to rest after him. He must salute his guru after having performed his morning devotion. A student shall shave all his hair, or wear it tied in one lock. If the sun should rise or set while a student is purposely indulging in sleep, ignoring the precepts of the law, he must fast for a day, muttering the Gayatri one thousand and eight times. He shall not contradict his guru. He shall not eat food offered at a funeral oblation, or at a sacrifice, nor pungent condiments, salt, honey or meat. He shall not sleep in the day-time. He shall not use perfumes. He shall preserve chastity. He shall

not embellish himself by using unguents and the like. He shall not wash his body with hot water for pleasure. He shall not sport in the water whilst bathing. Let him not look at dancing. Let him not go to assemblies for gambling, &c., nor to crowds assembled at festivals.

The word 'devotion' must be understood to apply to the observance of the rules of studentship.

If they are transgressed, study drives out the knowledge of the Veda acquired already, from the offender and from his children.

These rules are the verbatim translation of the texts of the Vishnu Sanhita and the Sanhita Apastamba. They are the same in all the Sanhitas. There are a number of other rules also in regard to the conduct of students to others. The object of the rules seems clear—(1) It was to enure them to hard living; and not to allow luxurious habits of any kind to grow; (2) to discipline them to a regular course of life; (3) to discipline them to obedience and instil in them feelings of respect and veneration; (4) to concentrate their minds on study; (5) to bring them up to a religious habit of mind; and, above all (6), to make them self-reliant.

#### THE MORAL CODE FOR STUDENTS.

Avoid the killing of living beings; rude speeches. Mimic not the gait, the manner, the speech, &c., of the teacher. Do not stay at a place where the guru is being censured, or foully belied. Sit not on the same seat with the guru, unless it be on a rock, on a wooden bench, in a boat, or in a carriage. A man has three Adi-gurus—specially venerable superiors; his father, his mother and his spiritual teacher. To them he must always pay obedience; what they say that he must do, and he must say what is agreeable and serviceable to them. Let him not do anything without their leave. He pays regard to all his duties who pays regard to these three; he who shows no regard to them derives no benefit from any religious observances. Vishnu Sanhita.

Let a student be not addicted to gossiping. Let him be discreet; let him be forgiving. Let him be untiring in fulfilling his duties. Let him be possessed of self-command. Let him be energetic; let him be free from anger and free from envy. Let him restrain his organs from seeking illicit objects. Apastamba.

A student should avoid anger, covetousness, perplexity, calumny and terror; gambling, low service, to take things not offered. He shall keep his tongue, his arms and his stomach in subjection. Gautama.

Just as under the preceding head, I have, in this section also,

quoted, word for word, what is given in the Sanhitas. These precepts possibly will do for students at all times and in all ages, and if they were to be trained in these habits of virtue in early youth, nothing would be wanting in them in adult age.

The chapter on discipline and morals ends with this beautiful apostrophe :

The deity of sacred knowledge approached a Brahmin, and said to him : " Preserve me ; I am thy treasure. Reveal me not to scorner, nor to a wicked man, nor to one of uncontrolled passions ; thus I shall be strong.

" Reveal me to him, as to a keeper of thy gem, O Brahmana, whom thou shalt know to be pure, attentive, possessed of good memory and chaste ; who will not grieve thee, nor revile thee."

GURU PROSHAD SEN.

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### ART. XIII.—REMINISCENCES OF HOLLAND.

**I**T has often been a matter of surprise to me that so few people, either among the Anglo-Indians who visit Europe, or even among the crowds of Englishmen and English women who annually find their way across the Channel, seem to care to visit Holland. Artists I certainly do not include among the latter class, for the pictures which appear year after year on the walls of the various English galleries prove that they at least appreciate the quaint, picturesque beauty to be found almost everywhere in the Netherlands. About seven years ago I paid my first visit to some Dutch friends living in North Brabant, in spite of warnings from many friends, who seemed to have contracted a notion that the climate in those regions was too moist and damp for any but Dutch folk to exist in, whereas, from my experience of five summers and that of others, I should describe it as exactly corresponding to that of our own beloved, though decidedly damp, island.

A knowledge of the language is not by any means necessary, though convenient if one should happen to arrive at a station some minutes before one is expected as the writer did, to be immediately surrounded by a crowd of porters all evidently desiring the honour of disposing of her and her belongings. It is at such moments as these that the usually self-contented Britisher feels himself small in the extreme. In vain I told my tormentors, in English, French and German, that I expected to be met; evidently even my pronunciation of the Dutch name was unintelligible, and I began to fear that I might be given in charge as a helpless lunatic, when, to my joy, a small omnibus drove up, and at the window appeared the face of my deliverer in the shape of my friend's French maid, who soon secured me and my baggage. After a drive of some miles through very flat country, we reached the little village where the country seat of Mynheer was situated, and I found that at any rate a Dutch welcome was as warm as any other.

This was about the second week in June, and for five weeks we were favoured with perfect weather. Since that summer I have never been quite so fortunate as regards fine weather; but first impressions go a long way, and I always look back on that visit as one of the most delightful I have ever paid.

Breakfast was a meal I always took in my room; but I believe the custom is everywhere the same, as it is even in the Dutch Colonies, to take a sort of ginger-bread with your bread and butter—the rolls and bread are most delicious, and the tea in Holland is always good. We usually spent the

morning in the garden, writing and working, and at twelve we lunched. This meal rather resembles the heavy breakfast our countrymen delight in. It is called "coffee," and, in asking friends to "lunch," you ask them to "drink coffee." The usual custom of the people is to have the coffee with milk on the table, just as we do at breakfast, and take it with their eggs and meat : but a great many, I have found since, like my friends, prefer the French custom, and take their coffee black after the meal.

I never remember seeing strawberries in such wild profusion, and of such a size as at Breda. They are the chief product of that part of Holland, and immense quantities are sent over to England twice a day while they last. Almost immediately after coffee, we started on what I soon found was an almost daily expedition to the woods, three or four of which were within half-an-hour's drive of my friend's home. I was sincerely glad that the driving part did not last very long, for the roads about there are dreadful, although the beauty of the woods compensated in some measure for the unpleasantness of the way. We spent our afternoons in roaming amidst the beautiful pines, inhaling their delicious scent. For persons suffering from delicate chests these visits to the pine-woods are considered a sort of cure, and, certainly, with the exception of St. Raphael on the coast of the Mediterranean (where the pines are exceptionally fine and the scent proportionately strong), I know of no pine-woods equal to those of Breda.

Afternoon tea was supplied from one of the Foresters' cottages, and then we made our way back in time for the six o'clock-dinner. It sounds rather unpoetical, but one of the most lovely life pictures I ever saw is connected in my mind with strawberries. One day, while roaming about the woods, we came suddenly on one of those long avenues of trees that somehow always awaken thoughts of cathedral aisles. About half-way down were grouped some thirty of the country people, all with great baskets of strawberries, either poised on their heads or hung on one arm. On their way to market they had staid awhile to rest on some trunks of trees that lay across the wide path. We were a large and by no means artistic party, but there was not one among us who was unmoved by that lovely picture. The solemnity of that long aisle, with the lights forcing their way through the thick leaves and playing on the rich crimson fruit and mingling with the rare tints of moss and leaves—combined with the unstudied attitudes in which the tired strawberry-pickers, in their various coloured garments, were resting in the welcome shade, formed one of the most wonderful pictures for grand effects of deep colour, light and shade that I have ever seen. The luxurious wildness

of the woods is all the more appreciated from the fact that the gardens in Holland are laid out in a very prim and formal way.

Foreigners cannot fail to be struck with the prominent place assigned to vegetables at every Dutch dinner-table. At least half-a-dozen vegetables unknown to us appear there. "Sorrel" was a special favourite of mine, and "purslain" also. A friend told me that, in ordering dinner, the chief point for consideration is the vegetables, as they form the most important item of the menu. Another curious feature of a Dutch dinner-table is the absence of mutton. I have never been able to understand the dislike of the poor sheep, which the Dutch share with the native of India; but it is a fact that (except I believe among the very poor) mutton is almost an unknown article of diet in Holland. Very occasionally it is used in the form of tiny cutlets. In all hotels on the Riviera where Dutch people congregate, mutton is carefully avoided, almost as much as pork is by the Jews. In spite of this, all over the country plenty of live sheep are to be seen; but I was told they are mostly kept for export to other countries.

Before we quit the dinner-table, I may mention that, in the matter of "grace," both before and after dinner, the Dutch take after the Quakers, and, unless a clergyman (or *dominie*) be present, no one else ever speaks, but there is a pause of about three minutes for silent prayer. This, as far as I remember, generally takes place after the soup is handed round, and at first is a little difficult to get accustomed to! Beefsteaks pass, as in India, through a severe process of beating, which renders them deliciously tender. I cannot now recall many of the sweet dishes, but one was particularly nice, though it does not sound so, being simply cream that is kept in the cellar for a few days till it becomes quite sour, and is then served in tiny soup-plates and eaten with a kind of rusk (specially made for it) all crumbled up into the cream with plenty of castor sugar.

During my first visit it was mostly warm enough for us to take tea in the garden, or on the verandah which ran all round the house; and I think that, even if a Dutch lady kept a hundred servants, she would no more allow the tea to be made in the kitchen than she would, say, allow the joint to be roasted in the drawing-room; but a Dutch lady not only always makes the tea (her tea as a natural consequence being always delicious), she frequently washes up the cups and saucers afterwards. They are generally rare old china, and never leave the precincts of the salon or house-parlour (the latter room often leading out of the drawing-room). After the midday meal also the lady of the house invariably washes and puts away her valuable coffee cups. I dare say many

may have noticed a large basin among the old china sets carefully put away in cupboards ; the original use of this was evidently to wash the tea-cups in.

Breda being the nearest large town, I saw a great deal of it, especially of the Military Academy, my friend's brother being at that time Governor. The churches, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, are very numerous ; but I was much disappointed with the interior of the Protestant Cathedral, it was so exceptionally bare and plain. There are, however, a few remarkably fine monuments, and the Cathedral itself is a handsome stone building with a spire three hundred and sixty-two feet in height. In very few of the shops was either French or English understood, showing that Breda, though an important place in the Netherlands, was not much frequented by strangers. It is a remarkably well-paved town, with fine, wide streets and most tempting shops of all kinds. It is everywhere intersected with canals and very strongly fortified and defended by a citadel (restored by our William III) ; and there is some means, I believe, by which the whole of the country round may be laid under water, if required, in the event of a siege or any such emergency. The academy is a splendid building, and has a famous museum of trophies and relics ; but, doubtless, most military academies are more or less alike.

My first impressions of the Hague were most favourable and have always remained so, though I doubt whether artists would delight in it as much as in some of the quaint old towns that are less beautiful ; but the Hague is undeniably one of the most beautiful cities in Europe. It is essentially a pleasure capital, and, being the usual residence of the Court, is often called "The Residence." The Hague, it is said, takes its name, Gravenhage (meaning Count's Hedge), from a house originally forming part of the inclosure surrounding the Count's Park. The houses are everywhere large and massive-looking ; the streets very spacious and mostly planted with rows of trees. There is a beautifully wooded park in the immediate outskirts of the town, in the midst of which stands a house which I at once recognized, from pictures I had seen, as the "House in the Wood." The Dutch Royal family live there sometimes in the summer.

On my first visit to the Hague, we staid in a comfortable family hotel at the entrance to the wood, and we generally drove out to dine at another hotel in Scheveningen : the latter place, and the wood are among the chief charms of the Hague. Scheveningen is about two miles out, and the glorious expanse of ocean that greets the eye on emerging from the wood is a sight never wearied of. Last year I



was visiting a friend in the Voorhout at the Hague and regularly every day drove by choice to Scheveningen. On this last visit I was there late in the year, in October, and the place was empty of bathers, who frequent it much during the summer; but it has a fairly large population of the fishing class, and the costumes of the women are picturesque in the extreme. Their head-dress is composed of some glittering material, and has all the appearance of a helmet; indeed, there is a good deal of glitter about the whole costume.

The most casual observer cannot fail to be impressed by the extraordinary cleanliness that everywhere prevails in this country. Occasionally one finds it obtrusive, as on my first visit, when, one day, as I was walking with a friend in one of the principal streets in the Hague, I received an unexpected shower-bath from a man who was so busy making the front of a house clean by aid of a long garden hose that he had no eyes for passers-by who might not need the process.

The Hague is rich in art-treasures. One of the most notable pictures is that world-famed Bull of Paul Potter's. Not only is the Bull in itself a perfect study, but the background, with its fair, peaceful stretch of fields and distant cattle quietly grazing, is full of charm. But I suppose the palm would be given to Rembrandt's wonderful picture "The Lesson in Anatomy," which, however, requires some medical knowledge to enable one to grasp the beauties of the somewhat ghastly subject, though I must own it fascinated me enough to make me carry away a photograph. For beautiful shops it would be almost impossible to surpass the Hague, and the bazaars are more tempting than any I have come across, not excepting those of Paris. The Hague also owns a very large Royal Library, and some private collections of pictures of almost priceless value. I am ashamed to own that I got really tired of so many Rembrandts, and experienced a sense of relief when I was taken to the studio of a Dutch artist, who showed me some modern pictures and landscapes.

I was delighted at finding a beautiful little English Church at the Hague, for, of course, there was none near Breda. French is, perhaps, more spoken at the Hague than Dutch, so one does not feel half so much "out of it" there, as regards converse with the natives, as in most parts of Holland. I must not leave the Hague without a reference to the wonderful potteries of Delft, a few miles out, which have been revived of late years. The pretty blue and white ware is so universally admired that it finds a ready sale in many shops at the Hague. One of the artists employed in the pottery took us over the place, and showed us many of the old forms and shapes being, as it were, resuscitated in the new Delft. The

town itself is a quaint, heavily built little place, with the usual canals traversing nearly all the streets, and a good many trees. It boasts of two, if not more, churches, in one of which is the monument of William of Orange. The character of the people seemed to me much the same everywhere ; a sterling, kindly nature, full of the warmest hospitality to strangers ; and I fancied they were especially kindly disposed towards English people. Whatever they undertake, they do well and thoroughly, and they are wonderful linguists, second only to the Russians.

V. F.

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#### ART. XIV.—MUGHALS AND TURKS.

**I**N Mr. Beveridge's careful and interesting account of Mirza Haidar Dughlat (*Cal. Rev.* No. 208) reference is made to the paradoxical question—Why the Chaghtai conquerors of India were so given to abuse of the Mughals from whom they were unquestionably descended? This question has never been fully discussed, although Mr. Elphinstone glanced at it in his *History of India*; and it is also touched on in a little work of the present writer, published some twenty years ago under the title of "The Turks in India." That work is probably not generally accessible—indeed the author himself does not, at the moment, know where a copy is to be procured. He must, therefore, ask for indulgence if he has to trust to less systematic materials in an attempt towards its final elucidation.

The early Muslim rulers of Hindustan—commonly known as "the Pathán Kings"—were mostly of kin to the semi-civilised Muhamadans of Ghor and Ghazni, and, more remotely, related to the Uzbegs of Bokhara and even to the founders of the Ottoman Empire of our own day. They thus came of a race which became a sort of leading class in Central Asia, much as the Franko-Normans did, at the same epoch, in most parts of mediæval Europe. What the Mughals of that period were, may be gathered from the accounts of their inroads into the Punjab, and especially from the description of them recorded by the poet. Amir Khusru (1253-1325) was the son of a Turkman of the tribe of Lachin, who came to India from Balkh in the reign of Sultan Balban, or in the last years of the reign immediately preceding. He had the misfortune to be engaged in the action in which the Sultan's son was killed (9th March 1285), and on that occasion he was taken prisoner and kept in captivity until subsequently exchanged. The poet was a man of some refinement—his poem "Majnun and Laila" is a classic of Persian literature to this day; and he wrote a Memoir in which he recorded bitter animadversions on the savage manners and filthy appearance of his Mughal captors, which accentuates the contrast between the two races down to the later years of the thirteenth century of our era.

The paradox arises when we find similar vituperation of the Mughals repeated, nearly two hundred years later, by the Emperor Bábar, a pure Mughal by blood, who, nevertheless, always speaks of himself and his people as Turks. The only way of explaining this must be sought in the supposition

that these words are used sometimes to distinguish two different races and sometimes to indicate two different stages of civilisation. So, in Europe, the term "Goth" is at once the synonym of ignorant violence and the proudest distinction of a Spanish nobleman; while the far renowned name of "Norman" has come, in the Channel Islands, to convey so strong a reproach as to be actionable in the Law Courts.

According to Central Asian tradition the whole of the Tartar clans are descended from Japhet, the youngest son of the Patriarch Noah. His eldest son was Turk, who settled in the neighbourhood of lake Issi Kol, to the North of the Altai range. Two of his descendants, named Tartar and Mughal, formed two distinct septs, known by the names of their respective founders; while a third who bore the name of their common ancestor, Turk—went southward and associated with the Tájiks of the land between the Oxus and the Jaxartes. \* These last are supposed to have been the fathers of the Uzbeks and the Pathans, by intermarriage with the Tájik women; and their proper designation is Turkman (Turklike).

When, therefore, the Northern Mughals came down upon their more civilised kinsfolk—whether in Khwárizm or in Hindustan—they were for a time quite savages and such was the havoc they caused that the friends of humanity and of Islam, of whatever blood, regarded them as unmitigated evildoers. Afterwards they, too, became "Turklike" (*q. d.* civilised) until in later days—as stated by Khafi Khan—the words "Turk" and "Mughal" became confused and lost their mutual significance.

H. G. KEENE.

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\* See paper by Major Raverty in the *Proceedings* of the Oriental Congress of 1876.

ART. XV.—GREEK SONNETS.

THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT BASSAE.

What charm may quell the conquering years' control ?  
Slow yields to Time's inexorable might  
Ictinus' anguished \* Temple exquisite :  
Still, though his genius sleeps who touched the goal  
Of Dorian Art, the star-glance of his soul  
Illumes with deathless pathos infinite  
The race who shrined the Helping Lord of Light,  
And crowned Apollo with Love's aureole.

But o'er green slopes, and steep oak-garlanded,  
Reverberates no more the Delian's song,  
The pale presageful Priest, the impassioned throng  
Who surged around the victim—all have fled—  
And the wild winds shrill ever : " Ye are sped,  
Your saviour God has lingered all too long ! "

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\* Mahaffy's Greek Pictures, p. 201.

OLYMPIA.

Still Nature's charms Alpheus' vale ensphere,  
But where the Olympian's awe-compelling Fane,  
Where Pheidias Zeus ? No more the lyric strain  
Has power, thro' rhythmic splendour, to endear  
The Conqueror's name that Hellas thrilled to hear :  
O flush and flower of Victory ! when the cheer  
Thundered presageful o'er the peopled plain,  
As first the exultant runner flashed amain,  
Or swooped the on-rush of the charioteer.

No slave of passion, or inglorious ease,  
Is he whom, thro' moon-silvered olive-trees,  
And statued Altis, lead the rapturous throng ;  
Who seeks Athene's wreath has conquered these,  
Keen for the star-crown of Simonides,  
Or radiant robe of Pindar's stormful song.

## LEUCTRA.

A name of might ! to conquer and compel  
The loftiest soul's allegiance—proud to yield  
Homage to him, war's tempest skilled to wield,  
The pearl-pure Chief whom still the world loves well :  
How up yon slope his masses surge and swell,  
And press the unfaltering foemen, shield to shield,  
Keen for the deadly vantage—lo the field,  
Where Thebes upsoared, and Lacedaemon fell !

Leuctra ! be far the fireless heart and cold,  
That thrills not rapturous to thy lyric ring,  
Though where thy peerless Patriot's sword inscribed  
Victory unblemished, blithe the brown larks sing,  
Heedless that here the Theban storm-wave rolled,  
And closed the rock-hewn remnant round their King.

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## THEBES.

I clomb the scarp of Cadmus' citadel,  
And clash of crested warriors, and the clang  
Of cloven helms, intolerably out-rang  
That shriek of Him, illumined all too well :  
To charm the heart Thebes hath no magic spell,  
Yet from her arms Epaminondas sprang,  
And dear the soil where sweet Corinna sang,  
And Pindar's lyric rapture soared and fell.

But stern and proud her offspring, icy-cold  
As wintry blasts that o'er their mountains sweep,  
And false to Hellas, when against her rolled  
The Median wave, and patriots' swords struck deep ;  
What hath She now, save memories manifold,  
Sung by her pines from vexed Cithaeron's steep ?

## CORCYRA.

Time was when her fierce sons were all aglow,  
When those proud fleets, forth rushing many a mile,  
Clashed, ere the death-feud shook Corcyra's isle :  
Yet hath she charms, ensphering war and woe,  
Still may her amaranthine Garden blow,  
Still the lone Wanderer's anguished heart beguile  
Alcinous' palace, still Nausicaa's smile  
Flash back the glamour long ago.

Lo, where Albania's mountains skirt the Bay,  
Unmoved mid wreck of States, and empires' flight,  
And dread vicissitudes of stormful night,  
The Doges' veiled inviolable sway,  
And dawn of that imperishable Day,\*  
When shuddering fled the death-doomed Ottomite,

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\* August 19th, 1716.

## TEMPE.

Northward o'er brows yon snow-crowned mountain-pile.  
The high Gods' home—Penéús' banks, inlaid  
With flowery frets divine that star the glade :  
Here may I wander, and my heart beguile  
With Tempe's sweet revivifying smile, ~  
Where stern gray rocks beleaguering barricade  
The vale, and ivy-cherished planes o'er-shade  
The swift stream hurrying thro' the deep defile.

Scorn not the bright Olympians' vanished sway,  
Nor mock their spell, still potent to subdue,  
Though now no more the tuneful Lord of Day  
Flute to Admetus' flocks, a herdsman true,  
Nor Hermes, from Thessalian peaks astray,  
Fleet eastward o'er the charmed Homeric blue.

## THE TEMPLE AT SUNIUM.

On the stern Attic headland grouped, they brave  
 All blasts that vex those minstrel-haunted seas  
 Where chanting Homer charmed the Cyclades,  
 And, proud in peerless beauty, front the wave,  
 The snowy shafts thirteen, that still enslave  
 Our hearts in rapturous homage. Have not these  
 Lone fluted columns, even yon fallen frieze,  
 The death-defying power, that spurns the grave ?

Not now with joyous shout the mariners hail,  
 Bound tempest-tossed from Tyre, thy radiance rare,  
 White o'er fierce-battling breakers, while the gale  
 Shrieks shrill round Sunium's rock. But whenso'er  
 True wisdom's worshippers black storms assail,  
 Beacons Athene's fane, supremely fair.

## ELEUSIS.

Where the bright crowd, the long august array,  
 Who, chanting crowned Iacchus' choral strain,  
 Sought, ivy-wreathed, Demeter's mystic Fane,  
 Past groves Cephissian, and the hallowed Bay  
 That smiles beneath the mountains' circling sway ;  
 And, by the murmurous margin of the main,  
 Rolled onward toward Eleusis, and again  
 In proud procession thronged the Sacred Way ?

Still Earth's impassioned votaries, o'er and o'er,  
 Yearn with fond arms to clasp the veiled To Be,  
 But, ere Death's disillusion gain no more  
 The goal supreme, Elysian ecstasy :  
 And shattered columns strew the silent shore,  
 Where the lone Mother wept Persephone.



## THE THESEUM.

From out the star-strewn past proud memories stream  
Of Him, the Hero, whom in days of yore,  
From Scyros' rocky isle the Athenian bore,  
To shame all listless souls who idly dream :  
The vanished years have cast a golden gleam,  
To grace his Dorian shrine, that evermore  
Enchants the wanderer's heart, and, o'er and o'er  
Defying Time, change, conquest, smiles supreme.

Let him who faces, warring for the right,  
Dread shapes, that haunt this world's tempestuous gloom,  
And yearns to quell, with conquering arm of might,  
Base powers of ill, that work a people's doom,  
Thro' storm-winds' stress, and thunder of the fight,  
Press onward—Theseus' Temple crowns his tomb.

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## THE PNYX.

I stand upon the rock-hewn pedestal,  
That fountain-head of loftiest memories,  
Wherefrom the sword-play of Demosthenes,  
Had power to lighten, conquer and appall ;  
Hence pealed the Periclean trumpet-call,  
Majestic and momentous as the sea's,  
Here from the traitor lips of Æschines,  
The great oration thundered to the fall.

Behind me proud Piræus, and the Bay  
Of Salamis triumphant, and before  
Lo Ares' hill ! and stretching far away  
The Attic plain, but toward me towers no more  
Athene armed, nor on that hushed array  
The invective breaks, reverberant o'er and o'er.

## THE IONIAN SEA.

Euterpe still is subtle to imbue,  
With her own rhythmic rapture resonant,  
Pure waves impearled that glass the gray Levant ;  
For tuneful hearts to throned Apollo true,  
Pale Sappho's fervid fire-song shrills anew,  
From old Leucadia's rock reverberant,  
And, echoing Homer's harp-tones, Virgil's chant  
Illumes the ineffable Ionian blue.

Here may the Hellas-conquered soul delight,  
Athenes-loved Odysseus' arduous home,  
And those two Queens \* who fought the ill-starred fight,  
Long ere the eagles of world-shadowing Rome  
Swooped, and the roar of Actium, and the flight  
Of Nile's crowned Circe o'er the empurpled foam.

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\* Corinth and Corcyra.

## THE AEGEAN.

Oreads who glanced among those olives gray,  
Peopling surge-fretted cliffs where Sappho strayed,  
When'dared Olympic Beauty undismayed,  
Creative souls who owned Apollo's sway,  
When Art and Song soared blithe to greet the day :  
Greek girls lute-lulled in Sophoclean shade,  
Or leaning o'er some seaward balustrade,  
To watch white sails that bore their loved away.

Such shapes, and starrier yet, the past illume,  
For him who hears the proud Ægean roll,  
Not mindless of the dawn that flashed for doom  
O'er Salamis, ere Pericles' control  
Curbed the chafed isles, or silent thro' the gloom  
Canaris steered, presageful of the goal.

## CORINTH.

Lo ! Corinth's Rock o'erlooks her ruined Fane,  
Majestically mute, but evermore  
The Isthmian seas are mourning o'er and o'er  
Their vanished Queen in musical refrain :  
Upon me mightiest memories surge amain  
Of victor-shouts, that rang from shore to shore,  
E'er yet the soulless Roman overbore,  
And grasped the guerdon of a world's disdain.

Here may the Wanderer's heart enchanted roam,  
Through those translucent years, that star the past,  
When Art upsoaring glorified her home,  
And Corinth's commerce winged full many a mast,  
O for some Tyrian prow, to cleave the foam  
Of those wild waves that love her to the last.

C. A. KELLY.

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† Mummius.

## THE QUARTER.

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**A**MONG events of the quarter of universal interest, the Greco-Turkish war, for the serious politician, dwarfs every other.

We shall make no attempt, in these pages, to follow the details of the struggle, which, indeed, from a military point of view, are not very instructive. The result, in its way, has been one of the great surprises of the century. Outside Greece itself, the ultimate success of the Turks was, it is true, generally foreseen; but in no quarter, probably, was it anticipated that their triumph would be quite so speedy or so complete as it has been. At sea, where they were overmatched, the Greek fleet has inflicted some injury on them; but on land, the tide of victory has flowed almost uninterruptedly in their favour. They have shown, moreover, not merely the splendid courage of their race, but more than creditable generalship, admirable discipline, and no small measure of self-restraint. It is not too much to say that the revelation puts an entirely new face on the Eastern question; and it may be that it would have been better for Turkey had her victory been a little less decisive. If, as is highly probable, the recent policy of Russia has been dictated by a belief that the collapse of Ottoman rule from internal decay was imminent, she will be compelled to reconsider her position. As for the other Great Powers, a sense of the danger which a Turkish revival would portend to Europe has already had the effect of stiffening their counsels. Nevertheless, it is to the representations of Russia, who has throughout to some extent stood aloof from them, rather than to their intervention, that the armistice which has just been concluded is understood to be due.

The present situation would appear to be that the Sultan whose forces, to the number of 200,000, occupy Thessaly, demands, as the price of peace, the retrocession of that province; the abolition of the Capitulations, and the payment of a war indemnity of three millions; and that England, France and Italy have pronounced definitively against the first of these demands, while the whole of the Powers will probably refuse to sanction the second. As for the demand for an indemnity, its justice is beyond dispute; and, if it could be separated from the territorial question, the Powers would probably not resent it. But, Greece being bankrupt, the demand, unless it is to be meaningless, necessarily implies at least the

temporary occupation of territory, either by Turkey, or by some other Power, or combination of Powers, in trust for her. Mercy to the Christian populations concerned, no less than expediency, would seem to forbid the former alternative. The mutual jealousies of the Powers are not unlikely to stand in the way of the latter.

One result of the Greek collapse has been the dismissal of M. Delyannis, who refused to resign, and the appointment of M. Ralli as Premier in his place. On the first outbreak of hostilities a Conference was proposed by Lord Salisbury, but rejected by the Powers, and Russia is said to be still opposed to this mode of arriving at a solution.

An important announcement was made by the Marquis di Rudini in the Italian Chamber, on the 14th May, that his Government propose to confine the military occupation of Erythrea to the port of Massowa and to retrocede Kassala to Egypt in agreement with Great Britain. It is doubtful, however, whether Egypt can at present spare troops for the defence of the place.

It is understood that the operations in the Soudan this year will be confined to an advance on Abu Hamid, which will probably be made early in July, and that only Egyptian troops will be employed. The Dervish garrison at Abu Hamid is said to be a weak one.

The state of British relations with the Transvaal is causing renewed anxiety. A Blue-book published towards the end of April last showed that two despatches of the utmost importance had been addressed a few days previously by Mr. Chamberlain to Paul Kruger. In one of these documents he recapitulated six breaches of the Convention of 1884, as having been committed by the Transvaal. Three of these consisted in the conclusion of treaties with Foreign Powers, to wit, Portugal, Switzerland, and Holland, without the consent of Her Majesty. The others were the passing of the Aliens Immigration and the Aliens Expulsion Laws, and the suppression of a newspaper belonging to a British subject. The passing of the Aliens Immigration Law was further made the subject of a special despatch.

The Transvaal Government, it appears, in reply to a previous communication, had maintained that this was a police law necessitated in the interests of the public peace, which it was competent to pass under Section XIV. of the Convention. But Mr. Chamberlain, in the despatch under notice, declined to accept this contention, and definitely requested that the Transvaal Government would at once procure the repeal of the law, or formally suspend it. In the meantime, the Cape Town House of Assembly passed, by a majority of 41 to 32, a Resolution moved by Mr. Du Toit, with an amendment by Mr. Abra-

hamson. Mr. Du Toit's motion demanded "the faithful and reciprocal observance of all obligations under treaties, conventions and agreements," but at the same time expressed a hope that "means could be devised to obtain an amicable settlement of any differences which might arise in the interpretation of such obligations." Sir Gordon Sprigg and Sir James Sivewright objected to the latter clause as suggesting a claim to go to arbitration which could be made only by equal and independent parties, and voted with the minority. Mr. Abrahamson's amendment, which was accepted by Mr. Du Toit, deprecated the intervention of any Foreign Power between the Imperial Government and the Transvaal, a plain hint to Germany and France. The importance of the debate lies in the proof it affords that Great Britain can rely on the sympathy of the majority of the Cape colonists, in any steps she may be compelled to take for the purpose of enforcing the observance of the Convention. Eventually the Volksraad repealed the Aliens Bill by a majority of 22, in a full house, and the situation has thus been materially improved.

The Budget statement, which was made by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach in the House of Commons on the 29th April seems to have been received with general satisfaction. Out of a surplus of a little more than a million and-a-half, half a million is to be added to the naval estimates; £200,000 is to be reserved for defensive purposes in South Africa, and the balance is to be devoted to improving and cheapening the postal service, home and foreign, to the promotion of education in Scotland and technical education in Ireland and to the entertainment of foreign and colonial guests on the occasion of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. It is somewhat ominous that no mention was made of Indian guests; but we may hope that this was merely a slip, though it would be quite in accord with precedent if Indian guests were left to pay their own expenses. The proposed postal improvements are important. There is to be a delivery of letters to every house in the United Kingdom; free delivery of telegrams up to three miles; a reduction of the parcels rate to a penny a pound; the introduction of a uniform rate of a penny for every four ounces for letters, samples and books, and a reduction of the rate of foreign postage to two pence an ounce. The Government of India, with its heavy, and, for many articles, prohibitive, rate for parcels, might well take a leaf out of the English Chancellor of the Exchequer's book.

The Indian "general officer" has received what, in all probability, is his final quietus, a motion by Sir Seymour King for a Select Committee to enquire into his grievances having been rejected in the House of Commons by the crushing majority of

a hundred and seventy-four to fifty-five, after a debate in which the principal speakers seem to have been all against him. Lord George Hamilton made much of the claims of the Indian taxpayer, and added that the object of the appointment of a Select Committee was to reverse the decision of successive Viceroys, Commanders-in-Chief, Secretaries of State, and every military and civil member of their respective Councils for the past sixteen years. "There was an absolutely unbroken record of authority against this case, and it must be remembered that military opinion dominated the Indian Government to a greater degree than any other administration in the Empire. Proposals put forward would be a gross breach of faith with the Indian Government on whom the Henley clause had placed a tremendous obligation in the work of reorganising the army. This clause had been a millstone round the neck of the Indian Government."

Sir James Fergusson thought that officers of the old East India Company were treated with great liberality, and opposed the appointment of a Committee. General Russell said that successive Secretaries of State had been coached by officers of the Staff Corps, which was a rival corps. Sir H. Fowler said that he had always demurred to reflections being made on the Government of India, especially when they were groundless. He wished to enter a very solemn protest against the language employed by the member for Hull. A long catalogue of charges against responsible Ministers was one he was not anxious to see reprinted in the press of India.

The most sensational event of the session so far has been Mr. Balfour's refusal to give Sir William Harcourt a day for the discussion of an address to the Crown, praying that the forces of the country might not be employed against the Greek people. Sir William Harcourt declined to move a direct vote of censure, and a division which was taken on an amendment by Mr. Labouchere resulted in a decisive majority for the Government.

The Voluntary Schools Bill was read a third time by the Commons on the 25th March, and by the Lords the following week. Of the other Bills introduced by the Government, the most important are the Workmen's Compensation Bill; a Bill for the establishment of a department and board for the promotion of agriculture and industries in Ireland, which has been once read, and a Bill to enable defendants in criminal cases to give evidence in their own behalf, which has been read a third time.

The first of these measures, which has been read a second time without opposition, provides that, if a workman is killed or injured, in the course of his employment, no matter through

whose fault, then, unless he committed suicide, or inflicted the injury on himself voluntarily, the employer will be required to give compensation. In case of death this is to be three years' wages, or £150, whichever is the greater sum, but is not to exceed £300. In case of injury, the workman is to get half pay, up to a maximum of £1 a week, as long as he continues to be disabled. Workmen are to be allowed to contract themselves out of the operation of the Bill if they are parties to any arrangement for compensation or insurance which, in the opinion of the Registrar of Friendly Societies, is not less favourable to them than the provisions of the Bill. The Bill is to apply only to railways, factories, mines, quarries and engineering works; and not to seamen, or agricultural labourers or domestic servants, or workers in the building, trades or in workshops, unless steam-engines are used.

The Australian Federal Convention have decided, by an overwhelming majority, on equal representation of each State in the Senate, and by a majority of twenty-one to thirteen against nationalisation of the land. They have also rejected the proposal to give the Senate the power of amending Taxation Bills, but allow them to suggest amendments.

The Senate at Washington have finally rejected the Arbitration Treaty between Great Britain and the United States.

As a result of the recommendations of the Army Sanitary Commission and the Committee of the College of Physicians, which subsequently took up the matter, an important but somewhat faint-hearted despatch has been addressed to the Government of India by Lord George Hamilton on the subject of the health of the army in India, with special reference to the diseases against which the late Cantonment Act was mainly directed. The Departmental Committee appointed by the Secretary of State to report on the question confined themselves, it may be remembered, to a statement of the facts, which are sufficiently terrible. They reported, among other things, that, in the year 1894, no fewer than 19,892 out of 70,642 British soldiers serving in India, or 28 per cent, had been admitted to hospital for the worst form of these diseases since their arrival in the country, and that only 37 per cent had never suffered from any form of them; that no Continental army showed anything like a similar amount of sickness from these diseases, and that, in our own Indian Army, the native troops did not suffer to one-twelfth of the same extent. They showed, further, that an enormous increase in the prevalence of these diseases, and especially of the worst form of them, had taken place since the end of 1893, when the system maintained under the Cantonment Rules was abandoned, till in 1895 an average of 45 men per 1,000



of strength were constantly in hospital for one or other of them. This deplorable state of things, they added, did not appear to be due to increased immorality in the army, in which drunkenness and crime had greatly diminished; and they concluded with the pregnant statement, that "the hard fact remains that among a body of men, mostly very young, and nearly all obliged by the conditions of the service to remain unmarried, removed from home ties and restraints into a country where climate and environment conduce to sexual indulgence, comparatively few are able to control the strongest passion in human nature, with the disastrous consequences, under present conditions, which the preceding paragraphs have described."

The Committee of the College of Physicians went further. They recommended that power should be given to the local authorities to take such steps as they thought desirable for protecting the health of the army; and they also suggested that the diseases in question should be subject to the same regulations as other contagious diseases, and that these regulations should aim at both detection and prevention, and should include examination as well as treatment.

The Secretary of State, however, does not give the Government of India a free hand to deal with the monstrous evil; and, though he insists emphatically on the duty of the Government to abate it, he hampers them with the proviso that no measures must be adopted that are capable—not of encouraging, but—of being represented as encouraging, vice, and that there must not only be no licensing, but no compulsory examination, of women in Cantonments. In short, as a writer in the *Pioneer* remarks, "instead of \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \* bidding the Government of India resume those discretionary powers of which, had either commonsense or constitutional propriety been in the ascendant, they would never have been deprived, the despatch submits their every act to the scrutiny of fanatics who will decide whether it is or is not an encouragement to vice."

Public opinion in England, however, has been thoroughly aroused, and if the Government of India only show the most moderate firmness, there is little doubt that what is really a most formidable national danger will be materially mitigated.

Sir James L. Mackay has been appointed a member of the Secretary of State's Council, in succession to Mr. Robert Hardie.

An unsuccessful attempt has been made by an unemployed artisan to assassinate the King of Italy, while he was driving to the race course. The weapon used was a dagger, and the King evaded the blow by rising from his seat.

Japan has determined to adopt a gold standard at a ratio of  $32\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, the silver dollar remaining legal tender till six months after notice of withdrawal; and Her Majesty's Government has decreed, and the Sultan accepted, the abolition of slavery in Zanzibar.

On the afternoon of Tuesday, May 4th, Paris was the scene of what, for the tragic character of the circumstances, if not for the number of the victims, will be long remembered as one of the most heart-rendering catastrophes of modern times. A great bazar had been organised, for charitable purposes, according to annual custom, by a number of Catholic ladies of rank, many of them representatives of the *ancien régime*, and was opened on the day in question. The building in which it was held was a mere wooden shed, 300 feet long by 180 feet wide, which, with the help of painted canvas, the gift of a generous patron, had been converted into a representation of a quarter of Old Paris, the whole being roofed in with tarpaulin. Into this flimsy and highly inflammable structure, which, had it been intended for a human holocaust, on a gigantic scale, could hardly have been more appropriately contrived, numerous stalls, loaded with the still flimsier fripperies employed to lend a commercial atmosphere to such occasions, together with a corresponding multitude of stall-keepers and attendants, were crammed. To the opening ceremony upwards of two thousand visitors crowded to give, to see, and to be seen. Twice the bazar had been blessed by the Papal Nuncio in attendance; and then, after he had left, and, with him, happily, a portion of the crowd, a match, carelessly lighted, set fire to the curtains behind which a kinematoscope was being exhibited.

In a moment the surrounding decorations were in a blaze; a few seconds more, and the tarpaulin roof burst into flame, and fell, in a rain of fiery drops and fragments, upon the crowd below. Then there was a terrible rush for the two visible exits, which, in a short time, became blocked. Of those who were unable to reach the doors in time, a few were fortunate enough to make their escape through the windows; others were riveted to the ground with terror from the first, or suffocated with the smoke, or fixed fast in the crush.

In a few minutes, the building became one vast fiery furnace; in a quarter of an hour, it had been completely consumed, and nothing of this multitude remained but cartloads of ashes and calcined bones. The victims, who are believed to number over a hundred, include many of the greatest ladies in France, foremost among them being the Duchesse d'Alençon, wife of Prince Ferdinand of Orleans and sister of the Empress of Austria. As the *Spectator* says, the roll of the dead reads

like a French peerage, and the whole upper world of French society is plunged in mourning.

As far as India is concerned, the history of the Quarter is still largely a history of the Plague that is ravaging Bombay and Sind, and the Famine that prevails with more or less severity throughout the country.

The Plague happily appears now to be everywhere rapidly abating. In Bombay, the average daily number of reported deaths, which in the middle of February exceeded a hundred and twenty, had fallen, in the week ending May 18, to less than ten; from Poona and Kurrachee the disease has almost disappeared, and even, in Cutch Mandvi, where, in the beginning of May, the deaths exceeded a hundred and fifty daily, a great diminution of the mortality has occurred. Everywhere, except in the case of the last named neighbourhood, the decline set in with the advent of the hot, dry weather and progressed *pari passu* with its advance. But for the exception in question, one would be tempted to see in this fact a confirmation of the belief that, as the temperature rises beyond 95°, it becomes progressively unfavourable to the life of the *bacillus*. In Cutch, however, the epidemic broke out after the setting in of the hot weather, and the mortality rose with appalling rapidity during the hottest period of the season, till, relatively to population, it far surpassed the highest reached in Bombay. An alternative theory has been put forward that the decline and ultimate disappearance of the disease are entirely a matter of time, or rather, as it may be supposed, of the gradual diminution of the susceptible element in the population. A comparison of the course of the present epidemic in Bombay and Kurrachee, or of its course in either of those places with that of former epidemics of Plague elsewhere, would seem, however, to suggest that, while this is, doubtless, a highly important factor, it is far from being the only factor in the case.

Judging from the experience of the last eight months in Bombay, there would seem to be some reason for apprehending that, unless it should be completely extinguished before the monsoon breaks, the wet, cloudy weather that may then be expected will be attended by a recrudescence of the epidemic. At all events any relaxation of the precautions that are being taken against the spread of the disease would, for the present, certainly be premature.

In Bombay City the total number of reported cases of the disease to the 20th May had been 12,336, and that of deaths 10,509; while in Kurrachee the total number of reported cases had been 4,081, and that of deaths 3,326, and in the entire Presidency of Bombay the number of deaths from Plague officially recognised had been 27,559.

Though the weather throughout India has been on the whole favourable, prices of the principal food-stuffs have fallen little, if at all; the number of persons on relief works has risen steadily since the date of our last summary, till it now exceeds four millions, and it is doubtful whether any material diminution in these figures can be looked for for the next three months. It is generally recognised that the success which has attended the efforts of Government to prevent death and minimise distress from want of food compares very favourably with that achieved on any previous occasion, with the solitary exception of the Behar famine, the administration of which was marked by a reckless waste of the resources of the State. As will be seen, however, from the figures given further on, the heavy outlay and loss of revenue which the scarcity has entailed, have told severely on the finances of the country.

Though all anticipations of the kind are in a high degree speculative, it is satisfactory to be assured, as we are by the Meteorologist to the Government of India, that present indications are considered to point to the probability of the coming monsoon being of at least average strength. The heavy and late snowfall in the Himalayas, however, is an unfavourable condition.

The Budget, a more than usually dreary document, was introduced by Sir James Westland in the Viceroy's Legislative Council on the 19th March, and voted on the 26th March. The Revised Estimates for 1896-97 show a deficit of Rx. 1,986,000, due entirely to famine expenditure and losses, in the place of an expected surplus of Rx. 463,100. The direct expenditure on famine relief in that year is Rx. 1,965,700; and the chief losses caused by the distress are Rx. 2,432,100 under the head of Land Revenue, and Rx. 1,420,000 under that of Railway Revenue. There is also a loss of Opium Revenue amounting to Rx. 508,000, due to a fall in the auction price of the Bengal drug and a diminution in the exports of Malwa. On the other hand there is a saving under the head of exchange of Rx. 1,329,000, due to the fact that the actual average rate was 14'46*d.* in the place of an estimated average of 13'75*d.*

The Budget Estimates for the current year show a deficit of Rx. 2,464,000, the direct expenditure on Famine Relief being estimated at Rx. 3,641,200; the loss of Land Revenue at Rx. 436,500, and that of Railway Revenue at Rx. 901,300, while there is an estimated loss of Opium Revenue of Rx. 1,079,100, and a gain in exchange of Rx. 1,360,000, the average rate being again taken as 14'46*d.* It will thus be seen that, under the heads of relief expenditure, loss of Land Revenue and loss of Railway Revenue alone, the famine is expected to cost the

country nearly 11 crores of rupees in the two years. Besides this, there are many smaller losses, due to the same cause, and it is to be feared that the loss of Railway Revenue for the current year has been under estimated.

The Capital expenditure on Railways in the two years is put down at :

	1896-97 Rx.	1897-98 Rx.
On State Railways (including expenditure on the East Indian Railway and the Assam-Bengal Railway from capital raised by the Companies) ... ..	5,767,700	6,700,000
On Railways of the Companies under contract with the Government from funds raised by them ... ..	2,990,600	3,430,000
On Railways of Companies outside the Government Accounts and Branch Lines ... ..	2,470,200	3,283,800
	<hr/> 11,228,500	<hr/> 13,413,800

In 1896-97 the Secretary of State was expected to sell Council Bills to the amount of £15,300,000, and he raised a loan of £2,400,000 at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and issued £1,500,000 and discharged £2,500,000 of India Bills. In the current year he expects to sell Council Bills to the amount of £13,000,000 only ; to raise a loan of £3,500,000 by the issue of India stock, and to issue £2,000,000 and discharge £1,000,000 of India Bills.

The Government of India in 1896-97 raised a loan of Rx. 4,000,000 at 3 per cent. and also issued Rs. 2,000,000 of 3 per cent. paper to the Currency Department in exchange for cash, the reserve of which held against its notes was reduced by that amount. In the current year also they propose to raise a loan of Rx. 4,000,000 at 3 per cent., though they seem hardly likely to obtain it, like the last, at a premium. On this point Sir James Westland remarked—

Since money hardened in Calcutta in November, the price of the new 3 per cent. paper has ruled below par, but this is partly due to the comparative absence of a market, as compared with the larger bulk of the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. paper. Our present intention at least is to persevere with the 3 per cent. rate, and by our future loans to increase its amount. We have now practically only two kinds of paper on the market, *viz.*, the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. guaranteed till August 11, 1904, and the 3 per cent., guaranteed until December 31, 1916. The amounts of these two kinds of debt are at present as follows :— $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Rx. 82,754,840, besides Rx. 8,159,500 held in the Currency Reserve ; 3 per cent. Rx. 8,887,160, besides Rx. 2,048,650 created during the year for issue to currency as mentioned in the next section.

Regarding the diminution of the Opium Revenue he said :—

Under Opium we are now suffering from the reaction which two years ago I pointed out to be inevitable. Scanty crops, and the high prices that follow them for a time, give favourable financial results while they last, but the high prices kill the demand, and both exports of Malwa Opium fall off and smaller prices are realized upon the Bengal drug. The prospects of the coming season, looked at from the point of view of the Opium Department, are extremely favourable, but to our Budget Estimates they mean low prices realised upon the still scanty sales, and heavy outgoings in payment for the raw produce. The result is a falling-off which may be thus distributed :—By lower prices realised,

on the Bengal sales, Rx. 877,500 ; by smaller export and lower duty in Bombay, Rx. 190,000, and on the Expenditure side—by heavier payment to cultivators, Rx. 60, 100.

It would be well for India if this were the whole truth ; but Sir James Westland takes no account of the rapid substitution of home-grown for Indian opium in China.

There is some reason, it may be added, for fearing that, owing to the effect of the scarcity on our export trade, the estimated average rate of exchange of 14·46*d.* may not be realised in the current year.

It is estimated that, in the absence of re-adjustment, which, however, is contemplated, and indeed, is inevitable, the Provincial balances will, at the close of the year, stand reduced by Famine expenditure to :

					Rx.
Central Provinces	...	...	...	...	<i>Nil.</i>
Burmah	...	...	...	...	140,900
Assam	...	...	...	...	85,800
Bengal	...	...	...	...	100,000
North-Western Provinces	...	...	...	...	<i>Nil.</i>
Punjab	...	...	...	...	38,100
Madras	...	...	...	...	100,000
Bombay	...	...	...	...	49,500

The following somewhat optimistic remarks concluded the statement :

I concluded my statement last year with expressing the view that our financial prospects were "now very much more hopeful" ; although I "refrained from any prophecies as to the future." Our prospects are for the present marred by the occurrence of wide-spread famine, and of pestilence which is as yet confined within a narrow area. I can only now express the hope that a year hence these disasters will have passed away ; and that, as the deficits I am now obliged to declare are certainly much smaller than the losses due to famine and scarcity, we shall, when relieved from these misfortunes, resume that financial progress which they have interrupted.

The most noteworthy feature of the debate on the Statement was, perhaps, Sir Alexander Mackenzie's excellent and persuasive speech on the injurious way in which the system of Provincial Contracts is at present worked. After disowning all desire to discuss the question whether the burden entailed by the Famine had been equitably adjusted, and quoting Sir David Barbour and Sir Charles Elliott in favour of a modification of the existing system, Sir Alexander made the important suggestion that the Government of India, with the consent of the Secretary of State, should refer the whole question to a Conference at which the Provincial Governments should be adequately represented, and endeavour to lay down the lines of a system which would be satisfactory to the Provincial Governments, while meeting fairly the undoubted exigencies of Imperial finance :—

"No system," he added, "can be sound which, with all its admitted advantages of diminishing Imperial interference in petty details, leads to so

much quinquennial bickering and heart-burning, and involves so much uncertainty and haphazard in Provincial Administration. My Lord, I wish to do nothing to diminish the power or prestige of the Imperial Government. My instincts and experience are all in favour of a strong central administration. But I do not think that the present system is favourable to strong administration. It places the Imperial Government in what seems to me a false position—a position of apparent antagonism to its own local agents. In framing it and working it, successive Finance Ministers and Secretaries of State have simply dictated their own views without giving Local Governments an opportunity of being heard, except as to details after principles had been laid down authoritatively, I had almost said despotically. I should wish to see your Excellency's Government initiating a change in this respect. The Local Governments want to have their say as regards principles also. It would, I feel certain, strengthen and not weaken the Imperial position. Again, if the policy of the present day is to be one of decentralization in legislation and finance, let us for any sake devise a workable scheme. As matters stand, the Provincial Government is bound to justify to its local Council and the local public financial measures which it is only allowed to criticise within hard-and-fast limits laid down by the Financial Department of the Government of India. Speaking for myself, I am ready to give loyal effect to all the orders and policy of the Supreme Government. If I found I could not conscientiously do this, the remedy is easy, and in my own hands. But it would be better for both of us—I speak for all Local Governments—were our financial relations regulated as much as possible by automatic self-acting principles—save when some serious calamity like widespread famine or national exigency like a great war comes to sweep away all ordinary rules, and rally, as they would do, all the Local Governments to the side of the Supreme Government in simple and self-sacrificing unity.

Sir Arthur Havelock dealt with the same subject in a much more trenchant fashion in the Madras Council on the 9th April:—

"It appears to me," he said, "that the contract system, so called, is bad in itself, and is demoralising to both the Provincial and Supreme Governments. Each revision, as it takes place, has a disturbing and dislocating effect on the Local Administration, especially in the important Department of Public Works, to which the pruning knife has to be constantly and ruthlessly applied. It is demoralising to the Provincial Government, because it tends to impair that sympathetic co-operation which is very desirable, because it tempts the Provincial Government in its financial relations with the Supreme Government, which is the master of the situation, to have recourse to the tactics of the weak—when we are well off, we try to hide our money and spend it recklessly, lest the Supreme Government should lay its hand on it; when we are poor, we try to give undue emphasis to our poverty. The system is demoralising to the Supreme Government, because it relieves that Government from the consequences of extravagance. Neither will the financial condition of the Presidency be satisfactory until a larger degree of financial independence and control are conceded to the Provincial Government, and until some arrangement more constant and permanent, and less one-sided than the present contract system, has been adopted.

With reference to Sir Alexander Mackenzie's suggestion of a conference, the Viceroy said that it "would receive from him, as a friend of decentralisation, all the consideration that was due to any suggestion coming from him."

The Bengal Financial Statement which was laid before the Lieutenant-Governor's Council on the 27th March shows a reduction of no less than Rs. 31,07,000 in the Provincial Balance, which it is estimated will stand at Rs. 10,00,000 at the close of the year, as against an opening balance of

Rs. 41,07,000. This startling change in the pecuniary position of the Government is due partly to the heavy expenditure entailed on it by the Famine, amounting to Rs. 22,18,000, and partly to the inconsiderate action of the Imperial Government, which has taken from it half the net earnings of the Eastern Bengal State Railway previously assigned to it, giving it instead an additional quarter share of the Excise revenue. As the substitution represents a loss of revenue of 11 lakhs, and Bengal is further saddled with an addition of Rs. 1,80,000 to its expenditure under the head of Excise, the new arrangement impoverishes it to the extent of nearly 13 lakhs.

The Bengal Council, on the 3rd April, passed a Bill to suppress the practice of rain-gambling; and on the same date a somewhat important Bill was introduced to amend the famous Bengal Tenancy Act. Mr. Finucane described the objects of the Bill as being (1) to clear up doubts and difficulties of procedure which have arisen in the course of experience in the working of Chapter X of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885; (2) to facilitate the settlement of rents when undertaken on a large scale either for the purpose of settling land-revenue or on the application of private individuals; (3) to amend the substantive law relating to the enhancement and reduction of rents so as to make certain provisions of the law workable, and to give effect to the intention of its authors regarding certain points on which, owing to want of sufficient clearness in the wording of the law, or to the interpretations put on it by the Civil Courts, it has been found in practice to be inoperative.

The Hon. Member concluded :—

I have now endeavoured to explain, so far as the limits of a speech and the patience of the Council can be expected to permit, all the main provisions of the Bill which, it is hoped, will be generally acceptable to all those who are interested in the land. The Bill, if passed, will facilitate the settlement of rents with a view to the settlement of revenue; it will also facilitate the settlement of rents in private permanently settled estates where the landlords or tenants apply for such settlements; and it will facilitate the enhancement of rent where rents are unduly low, and remove grievances of which the landlords now complain. It does not, it is submitted, trench on the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts, but on the contrary enlarges that jurisdiction. I now move that the Bill be read in Council. If this motion is carried, the Bill will be circulated, and opinions will be invited upon it before it is further proceeded with.

A somewhat important Bill for the better control of Religious and Charitable Endowments of a public nature has been introduced in the Viceroy's Legislative Council by the Hon. Ananda Charlu.



During the period under review, the province of Burmah has been raised from a Chief Commissionership to a Lieutenant Governorship, Sir Fredrick Fryer, who is to be assisted by a Council, being the first Lieutenant-Governor, and, at the same time, a Legislative Council has been granted to the Punjab, after it had been administered for eight-and-thirty years without such a body.

The Government of India have deputed Mr. T. Higham, of the Public Works Department, to collate the experience gained in the different Provinces during the present famine, with a view to the preparation of a uniform Code hereafter.

An unusually large number of personal changes in the higher branches of the administration in Bengal have occurred, or been announced as imminent, during the present Quarter. Thus, Sir Alexander Mackenzie takes six months' furlough to Europe, and Mr. C. C. Stevens, from the Board of Revenue, acts for him in his absence; Sir J. Lambert retires from the Chief Commissionership of the Police of Calcutta, in consequence of ill-health; Mr. Williams temporarily vacates the Chairmanship of the Corporation, and Dr. Simpson resigns the post of Health Officer to the same body.

The obituary of the Quarter includes the names of Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin; Johannes Brahms, the Composer; General Sir George Malcolm; the Rev. J. E. W. Rotton, D. D., LL.D., Senior Chaplain of the Bengal Establishment; Sir Walter de Souza; Admiral Sir G. W. Watson, K. C. B.; Sir W. Cleaver Robinson; Mr. James Theodore Bent; Mr. J. S. Campbell, B. C. S. Ret.; Mr. Ney Elias, and the Maharaja of Vizianagram.

*June 9, 1897.*

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## CRITICAL NOTICES.

*Philip Augustus.* BY WILLIAM HOLDEN HUTTON, B. D.\*  
Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford; Birkbeck  
Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History, Trinity College, Cam-  
bridge; &c. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. New-York :  
Macmillan and Co. 1896.

MR. HUTTON'S volume on the victor of Bouvines is less a biography than an account of the development of the Frankish kingdom from one of the least important of the States of Europe into a great Power.

Its only serious defect is that it is too much overloaded with detail to be very readable, or to leave a vivid picture on the mind. As for Philip himself we are left to form such conception of him as we can from his public acts, or rather from their results, for there is little in the shape of personal detail in the work, but we are not allowed to see him in his habit as he lived; nor, as far as we can find, does Mr. Hutton pronounce anything like a complete judgment on his character, which is by no means one that can be seen through at a glance, though he gives us the testimony, on this head, of Rigord, of William the Breton, of Mathew Paris, and of Giraldus Cambrensis, the last a somewhat fulsome panegyric. There is, perhaps, some reason for this. "A great king, ceaselessly active, of unwearied vigilance and ever-changing scheme," says our author, "Philip was stern, secret, subtle, obstinate, and invincibly patient in the pursuit of what his eye desired and his hand found to do. And this character impressed itself year by year more clearly on the men of his age, so that, as the days went on, they became more reticent in writing of him, and the burst of spring-tide enthusiasm which hailed his accession died down at the end of his life into the most meagre record of his acts. The astute sovereign who began life so gallantly had become more and more of a grim enigma to his subjects. They had woven legends about his life. He had become a Charlemagne, the mysterious, half-magical sovereign, rather than a gallant knight-errant of poesy; and each romance took his real personality farther from his people's sight. New men arose who carried on his work without any of his own characteristics. The hot-headed, gallant Louis—ever ready to break a lance or lead a forlorn hope—began, with his pious, domineering, Spanish wife, to fill a space in the popular eye from which the great conqueror had receded. Still the old king lived on, silent and

self-contained, deep in schemes and very chary of action. He would not lift his hand to a romantic enterprise outside his own land. He watched and waited for results which he foresaw.

"And so death came to him as he quietly continued the work of consolidation and order on which he had set his heart. He passed from district to district, hearing complaints, redressing wrongs, rewarding faithful service. He bent his mind to knit the newly-won provinces to the central power. Privileges overflowed to the towns of Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine. New barons were given new fiefs. And over all the king watched closely, but with patience."

But this leaves too favourable an impression. In his earlier years, at all events, Philip's career was sullied by great cruelty—great cruelty, for instance, to the blameless Danish Princess, Ingeborgis, his second wife, Mr. Hutton's account of his relations with whom is far from satisfying; great, if only too common, cruelty to the Jews, towards whom, however, he seems to have softened, probably from motives of policy, in his later years. Of his consummate statesmanship there can be no question; but his subtlety not seldom degenerated into chicanery. His services to France were immense. To the dominions of the monarchy he added Vermandois, Poitou, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, Alençon, Clermont in Beauvaisis, Beaumont, Ponthien, Artois, Amiens, Valois, and, greatest of all, the Duchy of Normandy, wrested from the infamous John. Nor were the changes which he introduced into the constitution less important, though we cannot give even the briefest account of them here.

The best things in the book are the descriptions of the capture of Chateau Gaillard and the battle of Bouvines, in connection with both which events, since we have laid stress on Philip's cruelty, it is only fair to say, he showed great clemency. "Philip," says Mr. Hutton, speaking of Bouvines, used his victory mercifully. Of him, as of the great king Henry whom he had overthrown, the chroniclers loved to say that he knew how—

*Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.*

He took no life, as he might well have done, for the treachery which had brought him into such great danger. Ferrand he would have released, but the independent Flemish cities would not consent to terms which would have made the French king safe against their attacks. Valenciennes would not yield, and Ferrand remained a prisoner. Reginald of Boulogne was too confirmed a traitor to be let loose. But Philip showed a clemency rare among his contemporaries and rarer still among his successors.

The following, too, concerning the siege of Chateau Gaillard should be quoted : —

The blockade now began in earnest. Day by day the refugees from Little Andely were consuming the precious provisions, and Roger de Lacy saw starvation before him. He thereupon turned out 500 of the weakest, and a few days later 500 more. They were suffered to pass through the besieging lines. Beyond this Philip would not allow them to go. All that afterwards attempted to issue forth were received with showers of arrows as they approached the French entrenchments. They rushed back, but found the gates closed and for three months they were left with no food but such herbs as they could pick up and the flesh of unclean animals thrown from the walls. Many, says William the Breton, had nothing for days but water ; others found food in the most hideous ways. For three months the wretches lingered between the fortifications and the trenches, till Philip, who had for a while been absent at Gaillon, returned. As he crossed the bridge the unhappy creatures recognised him from his gallant following, and cried out for pity. Philip was touched. "God forbid," he cried, "that we should increase their suffering," and he ordered them to be given food and suffered to depart. As his chaplain stood among those who ran to the help of the starving wretches, he saw one who still clutched the dry bone of a dog, and would not give it up till he had actually bread in his mouth.

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*Life and letters of John Gibson Lockhart.* By ANDREW LANG, J. C. NIMMO.

THE son-in-law and biographer of Walter Scott is now chiefly remembered—by those who remember any literary subject at all that is more than six months old—as the translator of some old Spanish ballads, parodies by "Bon Gaultier." It is, therefore, questionable how far a venture such as that of the author and publisher of Lockhart's *Life and letters* will be justified by financial results. The book is on a scale of unusual magnitude—two quarto volumes, handsomely bound, much illustrated, and printed in Pica type on paper which, if not hand-made, is the best imitation ; all which may seem exuberant luxury. Yet that something of the kind was due to the memory of a misunderstood man who played an important secondary part in the literary life of the first half of our waning century, will be clear to any one who takes the trouble to read Mr. Lang's book. The peculiar mind and manner of the gifted writer will doubtless affect the judgment, according as one may or may not be in sympathy with him. Mr. Lang, as we know, is of that composite class which may be roughly called "Balliol-Scotch," uniting the North-British particularism with the classical culture which marks the foundation of Devorgilla. In these respects he was well endowed for his task ; Lockhart having himself united the training of the Oxonian with the fundamental nature of the well-born Lowland Scot.

Born in 1794, Lockhart had his rudiments at Glasgow

College, from which he proceeded to Balliol as Exhibitioner on the Snell foundation, and had for tutor Jenkyns whom old Oxford men may still recollect as Master of Balliol and Vice-Chancellor in the Forties. He took a first class in the schools; and, after a few preliminary flutters, settled in Edinburgh as an advocate, mostly briefless—just before the establishment of the still extant *Maga*. He at once joined what Mr. Lang calls "the Blackwoodsmen," and underwent the stimulating contagion of Christopher North. The tone of scorn, the pothouse pastoralism of which traces may still be seen in the reprinted selections from the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, these were things natural to the impulsive and boisterous Wilson; but they had a bad influence on the deeper and more austere mind of his youthful associate which lasted until years had brought the philosophic mind. Hence arose the conception of "The Scorpion"—a name which seems to have been assumed originally by Lockhart himself—out of which grew the tradition preserved by Leigh Hunt, Miss Martineau, and others of his ill-wishers, that Lockhart was a cold, malignant satirist, the wilful detractor of rising genius. How far from a complete portrait this conception was, the reader is now in a position to see for himself. The letters which Mr. Lang has been able to collect for us give abundant proof that Lockhart's heart was warm, and his conduct often generous; howbeit a strange complexity of character gave force to impressions that were often caused by undue severity of language. All arising probably out of some of those defects of judgment from which the best of men are not always free. Certainly the *Maga* article on Keats, if it was Lockhart's, as there is fair reason to believe, was an instance of this: nor is it to be palliated by considerations of the critic's youth and Wilson's example. In his maturity, and in the responsible post of Editor of *The Quarterly*, Lockhart published a review of Tennyson's earlier poems which displayed little advance in perception of nascent genius or in gentleness of tone.

Nevertheless, to know all is to forgive; and when we see the proud, shy man winning the regard of Scott and the adoration of Carlyle, giving help to Hogg and Maginn, and using his influence with Tory statesmen to obtain preferment for Crabbe's son and for Milman; when we see his constant goodness to his friends and his affectionate care of his children, we begin to understand the man's essentially noble nature, obscured by surface failings.

In showing Lockhart such as he was, rather than such as flaws of his nature allowed him to appear, Mr. Lang has set before modern literary men a type which well deserved preservation. In other respects, perhaps, some dissatisfaction

may be felt to mingle with the thanks which are, undoubtedly, his due. The book has an appearance of effort, and of shapeless but unsubstantial bulk, as of an imperfectly-inflated balloon. Mr. Lang is chiefly distinguished as a writer of Essays; and, where a clear intelligible narrative is of more importance than mere acuteness and light touch, the work of a biographer is felt to be either above or below a writer of this class.

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*Lord Bowen, a Biographical Sketch.* John Murray, 1896.

IN the heyday of the Victorian age, when the *Saturday Review* was written by Sandars and Venables, Mr. Vernon Harcourt and, of all men—Lord Robert Cecil, Bowen was a valued contributor; and when time had brought fame and a dignified position, the lighter humours of his early journalistic work never entirely shook themselves off. He it was who uttered the famous saying when the Judges assembled in solemn conclave to present an address to the Queen on the Jubilee of 1857. Some learned brother had produced a draft beginning:—"Conscious as we are of our own infirmities,"—on which another—possibly Sir James Stephen—demurred that he, for one, "was not conscious of anything of the kind." "Then," said Bowen, with cherubic sweetness, "how would it do if we began,—'Conscious as we are of one another's infirmities'?"

Nor were these pleasantries altogether absent even from the graver duties of the Bench. Hearing an appeal in a shipping case, and perfectly conscious of his own infirmity on such subjects, Bowen carefully and attentively listened to the prolix arguments of counsel on either side. But when the time came for him to deliver judgment, he handed a crumpled slip of paper to the usher to be passed round among the lawyers, which, when opened, proved to contain only this line—from the little poem (then in every one's memory) first sung by the dying Swan of Haslemere:—

"And let there be no moaning of the bar  
When I put out to sea."

The memoir of this accomplished and charming man, published on almost the last day of the year 1896, will be doubly welcomed in India as the work of Sir Henry Cunningham.

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*The Old Dramatists; etc.* By K. DEIGHTON.  
Constable. 1896.

MR. Deighton is so well known, both at home and in India, that a critical work from his scholarly pen is sure of welcome. The book cited here is especially noticeable from

the point of view of those who love the spacious times of the English Renaissance. Late, as compared with Italy, that movement produced men in all departments of life equal to the best of any other nation : especially characteristic among them being the writers for the stage. These men, of whatever birth or original calling, were all alike in this, that they combined crude realism with heroic romance ; writing for the bare life with quills from the very wing of Pegasus ; carelessly flinging genius and ribaldry into the same furnace, like heedless bell-founders. They often worked in collaboration, with results not unlike what attended the joint creation of "Sir Roger" by Addison and Steele, a century later ; and they left the printing of their works to chance, as if Bulwer Lytton and Tennyson had allowed Becket and the Lady of Lyons to appear as set up by compositors in Seven Dials, and without any correction of proof-sheets.

From these peculiar conditions has arisen a state of things which has given employment to the critics ever since Gifford first took up the texts, and Charles Lamb enthusiastically produced his "Specimens." And now comes Mr. Deighton, with a modest but most useful contribution to the study, in the shape of conjectural readings in the works of Marston ; Beaumont and Fletcher ; Peele ; Marlowe, Chapman ; Heywood ; Greene ; Middleton ; Dekker, and Webster.

Mr. Deighton's readings are numerous, but scarcely one can be said to be uncalled for and very few unwarranted. While always showing good sense and sound scholarship, they equally display a creditable caution and a desire to disturb the text as little as possible, however corrupt it may, at first sight, appear. Indeed, nothing is more remarkable than the slight amount of change which, in such dexterous handling, can turn into good grammar and rich meaning what looked like hopeless gibberish. We have not space for extracts, and can only commend Mr. Deighton's little book to the serious attention of all who would have an improved acquaintance with these prodigal sons of Apollo.

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*The Queen of the Moor.* By FREDERICK ADYE. Macmillan & Co., London.

THERE is a great deal in Mr. Abye's "Queen of the Moor" which indicates that it is the work of a novice who, although possessing many of the qualities that go to the making of a novelist, has yet a great deal to learn. The story, which might have been reduced with advantage to half its length, is overweighted with description to a degree quite unusual nowadays, and in a manner calculated to prove irritating to any but the most plodding of novel readers.

This is the more to be regretted as some of the descriptive passages—those dealing with Dartmoor—are both vivid and picturesque. But when a writer thinks it necessary to describe minutely, not only the country in which the scene of the story is laid and the dispositions and personal appearance of all the characters, but also their horses and dogs, rooms, furniture, &c. &c., the most lenient reader is apt to become impatient and cry, "Hold, enough!" A certain amount of description is permissible and frequently desirable; but it should be employed with discrimination, and for the attainment of some other end than the mere filling of so many pages. The characters in a story should reveal their own dispositions through their actions and their conversation and should not make their bow to the public labelled "good," "bad," "brilliant," &c., &c., as the case may be; and no more of their belongings, or of the scenery among which they move, should be described than is sufficient either to create an atmosphere, or to help to the understanding or working-out of the plot. The example of Sir Walter Scott may, of course, be cited against this view. But he was a magician, and there was that in his works which, we are sure Mr. Adye will forgive us for saying, is not to be found in his, or indeed in those of any of our modern novelists. Besides this there were fewer novels to be read in those days and people had more leisure to read them in.

But to return to the book under review. The scene of the tale is Dartmoor at the time when the prison—

"Was a great war prison, established for the retention of the luckless soldiers and sailors taken in the terrible continental war, which was still raging in the beginning of the present century. Europe was over-run with the victorious legions of Napoleon, whose next feat of arms was expected to be the invasion of England. In dread of this invasion England had taken up arms against the conquering Gaul, and from 1789 to the final conflict of 1815, British armies and fleets were engaged almost without intermission in resisting the onward flight of the eagles of France. During such a protracted war of course prisoners were continually being captured, and these had to be provided with safe accommodation in durance vile."

Round this prison and its inmates the chief interest of the story centres. The heroine is a young girl who by the death of her parents becomes, at twenty-four years of age, the mistress of a fortune, and of a large moorland mansion called Tor Royal, where she lives with no other companion than an elderly single lady who combines the *rôles* of housekeeper and *chaperon*. How she became interested in the fate of one of the foreign prisoners and what was the outcome of it, it would be fair neither to the reader nor to the author to disclose. The latter would appear to hold somewhat extreme views regarding matrimony, entertaining apparently much the same opinion of the Belgravian "marriage market" as another



well-known novelist who has recently aired her indignation on the subject in a London weekly. But, curiously enough, Mr. Adye seems to regard the question solely from the point of view of the man, who, according to him, runs a terrible risk when he enters for the matrimonial stakes :—

"I have read," he writes, "and even heard in real life, of men being instantly overwhelmed with disappointment at the rejection of their addresses; but I imagine this must be later, when the sense of loneliness which impelled them to make the fatal plunge has had time to reassert itself; for it seems to me that the first sensation must be one of relief, as when a gentleman who is "wanted" sees the bright steel bracelets returned to the detective officer's coat-tail pocket, instead of finding them fastened with a click on his own wrists. That there are certain charms and comforts about married life, and even a degree of picturesque beauty, at least, in the ideal, when seen at a distance, we will not deny; but this fact remains, that in all classes, save the very richest, matrimony is nothing more nor less than domestic servitude for life; Benedict is told off to wait upon one woman and so many children, and the priest who marries him is the judge who pronounces the sentence. As for the richer classes, the whole question of marriage seems to have been reduced among them to one of mere worldly profit or honour, from which all feeling is at once eliminated. There can be nothing sacred about such marriages."

What about 'Beatrice'? We would ask. Is it not also domestic servitude for her?

There is no lack of incident in the story, and those interested in the West country will probably delight in the pictures of it called up by the writer, and will find the book eminently readable. Of Dartmoor we are told :—

Dartmoor is a dreary-looking country on a real wet day, of which it sees many. A grey watery mist shrouds the whole landscape. Not a house, not a tree, not a human being to be seen for miles. Nothing but the barren expanse of moor, the monotony of the scene broken only here and there by some giant tor looming grimly in the mid distance, its rugged shoulders wreathed in mist, and battlements of granite, dimly visible through a rent in the cloudy curtain hanging in the air, deserted altars of the Druids. A herd of wild ponies cross the road, spectral steeds, appearing twice their size through the thick fog. They stand and stare for a moment at your apparition, and then, with a wickering challenge to your horse, plunge into the prevailing obscurity. How silent it all is! Not a sound save the confused murmur of running water, the rush of a little trout-stream foaming turbidly through its culvert beneath the roadway, the constant trickling of the rain, with now and again the scream of a passing sea-bird, or the distant bleat of some uneasy sheep. Yet it is pleasant. There is always a sweet air stirring, and as you get up on the high ground, the fresh breeze buffets you on the cheek, sending a glow of vigour through your whole frame.

One should always be out of doors on Dartmoor, with horse and hound, with rod or gun, sketching-block or geologist's hammer, as the taste may be, but always out of doors. One inspiration of that pure air will expel gloom and depression, and exorcise any evil spirit which may possess you. The rain will not hurt you; it does not feel the same thing as rain in the heavy lowlands. For myself, I think I almost prefer a wet day on the moor to a fine one anywhere else.

*His Majesty's Greatest Subject.* By S. S. THORBURN. Archibald Constable & Co., London.

WE think Mr. Thorburn would have done better if, when he planned out his little *jeu d'esprit*, he had put the clock on a trifle more, for the most sanguine among us could hardly hope for all the changes he describes in the brief space of ten years. The period of the story, which is told in the first person, and which, although differing greatly in many respects, recalls in some of its incidents "The Prisoner of Zenda," is the year 1907. The scene is India, and the hero a man who, through an ingenious fraud by which he personates his twin brother, has become Viceroy, and married a beautiful Indian princess whose acquaintance he has made under very romantic circumstances. His attitude while Governor-General is so absolutely independent and courageous that he works miracles in the way of reforms, and the services he renders to the country during his term of office are so numerous and so valuable that not only is he universally beloved by the people—Hindus and Mahomedans alike, but he really earns the title of "His Majesty's Greatest Subject." One of his first acts, after assuming the reins of government, will commend itself to all sensible persons who know anything about the country. He decides to treat as political offenders—

"The sedition-mongers, both white and brown, who were swarming throughout the peninsula, preaching treason and stirring up disaffection against the British dominion. The sayings, doings, and movements of each of the more important of these pests of society were always duly reported and noted. Hitherto, my brother had been content to observe them only by a sort of shadowing. He had not resorted to strong measures, as their wire-pullers had a powerful money-backing, and a trial before a regular tribunal was what each courted, for it meant publicity and a further dissemination of political poison. He had feared, in fact, to take any notice of them, freedom of speech being as sacred to the democracy of Great Britain as freedom of the Press.

What I caused to be done was to have several hundreds of these gentry suddenly arrested, and confined in different jails as political offenders. Some half-a-dozen of them, who wrote M.P. after their names, and a few home newspaper men were quietly put on board steamers returning to Great Britain by the Cape. The long sea-voyage was preferred, because the lives and liberties of such valuable representatives of the British nation would not have been safe had they been sent to their duties at Westminster and elsewhere by the Canal route. The outbreak of war between France and Great Britain appeared imminent, and if war came, the Canal would be immediately closed.

This little *coup d'état*, though an act of ordinary self-preservation

for a Government encompassed by perils as mine was, created a wordy storm throughout India and even Great Britain. The blow was admirably timed and delivered. One morning India awoke to find that three hundred leading busybodies had disappeared. Next day the reasons for the action taken were shortly stated in a Gazette of India Extraordinary, and it was added that similar offences would be even more severely treated. A meeting of the London Cabinet was hastily convened to consider my action, and explanations were demanded. I replied that my law advisers were unanimous that the action taken was legal, and that when the Secretary of State for India should receive the papers, I was confident that my proceedings would be approved; the papers in each case were being completed as rapidly as possible, and would be sent home as soon as ready, I was careful not to add that they would not be ready for some months to come. The Cabinet, though pressed to recall me, prudently decided to await full information, and in the course of the next fortnight, the storm somewhat subsided."

His next step of great importance is to pledge his honour to the masses of India that their proprietary rights will—

"be restored to them, and that hereafter it will be illegal for persons other than true agriculturists to acquire rights in arable land.

"Let all clearly understand that, be this war short or prolonged, be the internal troubles of India general or confined to a few localities only, the British Empire will eventually emerge triumphant over all enemies, whether foreign European powers, misguided feudatories, or exasperated peasantry.

"Finally, when accounts come to be settled, justice according to merit will be done to each class and individual; the chiefs who will have freely helped their King-Emperor with blood and treasure will be rewarded; but those who were hostile, or stood lukewarm, will be punished. As for the peasantry, much will be forgiven them, because we have sinned much against them."

This naturally leads to grave discussions in the Cabinet, and he is addressed on the subject by Mr. Albert Jones,

"the legal member, a recent arrival from home, appointed not on account of his legal knowledge, but in payment for political services rendered to the Radical party at the last elections.

"How, sir," he asked, "do you propose to rehabilitate expropriated peasants and yeoman owners? Their ascertained numbers approximate to twenty millions of families; hence to buy out the interests of the money-lenders, who, as mortgagees or purchasers, are now their landlords, is impossible. The amount of compensation alone would bankrupt India."

"Not at all," I said; "a maximum of twenty years' usufruct will be held to legally extinguish any non-agriculturist's claim as mortgagee, the terms of the so-called mortgage contract notwithstanding, and as to titles by purchase, some other equitable

arrangement will be devised. The State, too, will make advances to facilitate repurchase, as was done in Ireland.'

'Then, sir, you intend that the new law should have retrospective effect. In that case you will go back on completed contracts!' he exclaimed in astonishment.

'Well,' I replied, 'you must remember that it is the Contract Act and the Civil Procedure Code and the strict way our technical courts have interpreted their provisions and played the game of the money-lenders, which have contributed largely to the undoing of the old proprietary classes. Probably not more than ten per cent. of the paper aggregate of agricultural debts is principal, all the rest being interest and compound interest. If we have now to be what you legal gentlemen think a little hard on usurers, remember that they have had it all their own way for the last fifty years. It is surely an act of justice to give the ignorant masses a little fair play now. Besides, we must do so, or a year or two hence not a usurer will be left alive in the country. As it is, our late Radical visitors, some of whom I so recently deported or locked up, have in places already taught the cultivators how to conduct no-rent operations. What would you do? We cannot imprison thousands of rent-defaulters, can we?'

'I must study the question,' was the perplexed legal member's reply.

But an adroit allusion to a Knighthood for the legal member has the effect of overcoming his scruples, and ultimately a Bill is drafted—

'for the better protection of the rights and immunities of the great landlords of Bengal in time of war with an European power,' under the short title of 'Bengal Landlords' War Insurance Bill,' admirably drafted by my friend, Mr. Albert Jones, was quickly passed through Council, and became law. The landlords themselves professed to acquiesce in its provisions, knowing that resistance would be useless, and fearing lest in this crisis obstruction might be called treason by Government on a hostile press. The effect of the Act on the other tax-payers of India—that is, practically on the leaders amongst 300 millions of people—was most gratifying.'

The new Viceroy adopts an extremely ingenious device for protecting himself against Home criticism.' Whenever any important and revolutionary measure is about to be passed telegraphic communication between India and England is temporarily suspended—the circumstance being always attributed to the hostile action of the French, who, in alliance with Russia, are at war with us at the time. Although the story serves principally as a peg on which to hang the political suggestions of the writer, it is in itself also well worth reading by those who are not interested in politics. There is in it plenty of adventure of a thrilling and romantic kind and no lack of love and marrying and giving in marriage; and it is told in irreproachable English and a pleasant style.

*Martin Luther.* By GUSTAV FREYTAG. Translated by Henry E. O. Heinemann. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. (London: 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E. C.)

IT is as a psychological study, rather than as a biography in the ordinary sense of the word, that Gustav Freytag's life of Luther is most valuable, and from this point of view it is very valuable indeed.

"The author of these pages," we are told in the preface, "does not intend to describe Luther's life, but only to tell briefly how he grew, and what he was." The dominant quality of Luther's mind was his ever-present and overwhelming sense of the supernatural. This, it was, that formed the ground, so to speak, on which his imagination projected the mechanism of Universal government. He was, in short, an eminently superstitious man in a superstitious age; and while, in one particular, his conception of the personal element in that government underwent a profound change, in this respect he remained the same from first to last. For Luther in his earlier days, God the Father was a wrathful and terrible God—a survival of the conception of his savage ancestry of the Thuringian forest. Ultimately God became, for him, "an all-loving protector, to whom he could address himself each hour, joyfully, and in tears; to whom he could carry every complaint, every doubt; who took an unceasing interest in him, cared for him, granted or refused his heartfelt prayers, himself affectionate, as a kind father." The devil and his host, on the other hand, were always the same for him. All this is set forth with admirable force and clearness in Freytag's work.

On the latter point, for instance, we are told:—"As God was the source of all that was good, so to Luther the devil was the cause of all that was noxious and evil. Luther came from a cottage in which there was still felt, as in the ancient times, the awful presence of the spirits of the pine forests and the sombre cleft of the earth, which was held to give access to the veins of metal in the mountains. Surely, the imagination of the boy was often engaged with obscure traditions of ancient weather beliefs. He was accustomed to feel supernatural powers in the terrors of nature, as in the lives of men. When he turned monk, these recollections of childhood darkened into the biblical idea of the devil; but the busy tempter, who lurked everywhere in the life of man, always retained, in Luther's belief, somewhat of the nature of the spirits of ancient Teutonic heathendom.

"In Luther's Table Talks, which were taken down by his companions, the devil causes the dangerous storms, while an angel produces the pleasant winds, even as in ancient

Teutonic belief, a giant eagle sat' at the boundary of the world and caused the winds by flapping his wings. Or, he sits under a bridge in the form of a nixie, and draws girls into the water whom he forces into marriage. He serves in the convent as a domestic sprite; blows the fire into a blaze as a goblin; as a dwarf he puts his changelings into the cradles of men; as a nightmare he misleads the sleepers to climb the roof, and as a noisy hobgoblin tumbles things around in the rooms."

The history of the great conflict between Luther and the Church is very clearly told. On the other hand, of the private life of Luther and the humorous side of his character, we get only occasional and hurried glimpses.

In spite of frequent Germanisms and Americanisms, the translation is, on the whole, well done and preserves the dignity of the original.

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*Text-book of Official Procedure : A Complete practical Treatise on the Working of the Secretariats of the Government of India.* By C. P. HOGAN, of the Indian Foreign Office. Calcutta : Catholic Orphan Press. 1897.

MR. Hogan deserves high praise for the completeness of his book on Secretariat organisation and procedure in India, which, if, as is evidently the case, it has been a work of love, must also have been one of great labour.

Much of the information contained in it is of a kind which could be found in no other work and could be otherwise acquired only as the result of years of personal experience. If there is any fault in it, it is that it includes too much. Mr. Hogan, in fact, shows a tendency to discuss questions of philosophy and morals which, however interesting they may be, hardly fall within the scope of what is intended to be a practical manual for the guidance of ministerial officers. Such passages as the following, for instance, seem out of place in such a work, even in an account of a "Model Secretariat."

Polarity, or action and reaction, is the unique and fundamental law which finds expression in the harmony observable in every department of nature. Dualism pervades the universe, and excess or deficiency in one direction or plane is ever compensated by deficiency or excess in another : indeed, nature's tendency is ever to maintain a determinate constant, with reference to circumstances in each individual case. By virtue of this law, what is gained in quantity is lost in quality : outside this law, all is discord and confusion.

This law furnishes the key to the successful application of the principle of division of labour, as it does to the solution of every difficulty or mystery in nature, however otherwise inexplicable ; and on its basis, specific members in the human body are endowed with specific faculties. Hence the inference is clear that, to achieve success, labour must be functionally distributed with reference to the capabilities of the workmen : where quantity is a characteristic feature, labour may be grouped in convenient classes, but, in each category, the distribution of the duties for its conduct must be functional.

The subjects dealt with by Mr. Hogan comprise the

Mechanism of Administration ; Official Routine ; Correspondence ; Registration, Docketing and Diarising ; Referencing ; Noting ; Precis-writing ; Drafting ; Despatching ; Recording ; Indexing ; Archives and Library ; Books of Reference ; Proof-Correcting ; Miscellaneous Procedure, Departmental Economy and Discipline, regarding all of which detailed information is given ; while in appendices, besides tabular statements of the Divisions, Districts and Scheme of Administration of India and the Personnel of the various Governments, and a Statistical List of the Native States, he gives a large number of specimen forms ; a list of abbreviations and contractions used by the Government of India, and a variety of other useful information.

From the above account of its contents, it will be clear that the book is calculated to be useful not only to Secretariat clerks, but, as a book of reference, in most offices in India, public and private.

*With the Dutch in the East.* An Outline of the Military Operations in Lombok, 1894. BY CAPTAIN W. COOL (Dutch Engineers), Knight of the Order of Orange Nassau ; Professor at the High School of War, the Hague. Translated from the Dutch by E. J. Taylor. Illustrated by G. B. Hooyer, late Lieutenant-Colonel of the Dutch Indian Army ; Knight of the Military Order of William. London, Luzac & Co., Publishers to the India Office, 46, Great Russell Street. 1897.

THOUGH the primary purpose of this work is to describe the military operations which, three years ago, resulted in the addition of the Island of Lombok, an important member of the Sunda group, lying between Bali and Sumbawa, to the Dutch East Indies, a large portion of it is occupied with what to the world at large are much more interesting matters—the characteristics, habits, agriculture, folk-lore and religious customs of the little known Sassaks, as well as of their erstwhile oppressors, the Balinese, together with the history of the introduction into the island of Islamism and Hinduism. Much of the information given in the chapters dealing with these subjects is of a highly curious character, and we hope to deal with it at greater length in some future number of the Review. The early connexion of the Dutch with Bali and Lombok forms the subject of a separate chapter, which, we are informed by the translator, in his Preface, gives only so much of a far lengthier chapter in the original as was necessary to prove the right of the Dutch to interfere between the Balinese and the Sassaks. In explanation, it may be added here that it was the oppression of the latter tribe by the Balinese, which at last led to their seeking the protection of the Dutch, added

to a long series of acts of violation of the treaty of 1843, under which the suzerainty of the Dutch over Lombeck and its dependencies was acknowledged by the ruling race, that was the immediate cause of the operations.

The work shows a vast capacity for taking pains, and considerable literary ability on the part of the author, and is copiously, and, on the whole, handsomely illustrated. The translator seems to have done his part admirably.

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*A Princess of Islam.* By J. W. SHERER, C. S. I.

MESSRS SWAN, SONNENSCHN & Co. have just published a tale in one volume, under the title of "A Princess of Islam," which, alike for its author and for its subject, may be commended to Indian readers. The author is Mr. J. W. Sherer, C. S. I., well-known for his Mutiny Report, and for his contributions to Colonel Maude's Memoirs, published, in 1895, by a London firm : and the subject is Life in a small Native State. The characters of the Nawab and his brother, and of the English Secretary, are subsidiary to the main business, which involves the development of a young Muslim lady of position, who, brought up behind the purda, is drawn into intercourse with western civilisation by circumstance, that unspiritual God. The charm of the book lies in the contrasts of East and West ; Hindustani customs being delineated with a sympathetic pencil and an observant eye.

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 210.—OCTOBER 1897.

## ART. I.—THE EMPIRE'S EAST-END.

**T**WENTY years ago the East-End of London was regarded as a danger to the West. Sullen starvelings were said to haunt Hyde Park on holidays and scowl at the luxurious carriages and their occupants with envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness. Those were the days when a clever Irish lady answered a nervous friend's suggestion: "Oh! if the East-End were to rise," by the abrupt cry: "If I were the East-End, I *would* rise, too." Since then how times have changed! Whitechapel has become the fashion; Mile-end is a home of aesthetics, and the East-End has risen so that it can rise no more.

But there is an East-End still—a mighty region little known to the frequenters of Hyde Park, except when some hideous tale of wholesale suffering cannot be ignored. All sorts of contradictory accounts are then forthcoming, alike of the condition of India, its causes, and its cure. Sir O'Fisbal Best, K.C.S.I., unrolls his tabular statements and proves that deficits are necessary and famine but a passing cloud. When Baboo Chatterjaw Goose tells him, in full Legislative Council, that the sorrows of India are all due to foreign domination, he points to the anarchy of the eighteenth century and prattles of the Pax Britannica. Then comes young Mr. Felix Potwīt, of Grub-street, who knows the reasons of things and will prove to you in leading and other articles that the truth lies midway between the two extremes; adding that an empire founded by such men as Clive and Warren Hastings is the brightest jewel in the British Crown, especially since the establishment of competitive examinations.

Amongst all conflicting doctrines, one truth at least is plain. Ever since the reign of William III., the authority of the British nation in India has been supreme; the East India Company may have been for years the most convenient agent; but, from the very first incorporation, that Company's motto acknowledged this fact. There had been two rival companies



of merchant adventurers trading to the East ; and their rivalry led to debates which will be found epitomised in the part of Macaulay's *History* in which the end of the seventeenth century is dealt with. In its last year the amalgamated, or, as it was called "united," Company was launched with the device : "Auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliæ." Nevertheless, territorial acquisition was still no part of the Company's commission ; and for the best part of half a century their servants in India were content with factories—warehouses and offices—at a few points on the maritime edges of the land, somewhat in the same way as treaty-ports are still maintained in China. But to establish treaty-ports, the first necessity is, obviously, a valid power with which to make treaties ; and in the rapid decomposition of the Moghul Empire, the impossibility of anything of the sort gradually made itself clear. Theoretically the seat of that empire was at Delhi, and the rulers of the several provinces were only Viceroys or Lieutenants of the Emperor. Accordingly, the Company's agents endeavoured for a time to protect their operations by patents from Delhi and minor arrangements with the local Governors. Before the middle of the century, however, the French—always foremost in new paths—struck in, and fierce contests raged in the South-East of India. Then the Nawab of Bengal attacked Calcutta, and was overthrown by a little force of disciplined troops employed by the Company at Plassey. Eight years later the Company's servants obtained from the titular Empire a commission to administer Bengal ; but even then no territorial expansion was intended, nor even any direct rule over what the Company had already acquired.

Clive was well aware, in 1765, of the ease with which a march might be made up the country and the wandering heir restored at Delhi under British protection. But, after the battle of Buxar and the acquisition of Bengal and Behar, he gave up the Company's remaining conquests and pronounced that "to go further were a scheme so extravagantly ambitious and absurd that no Governor and Council in their senses can adopt it, unless the whole system of the Company's interest be first entirely new remodelled."\* Warren Hastings, the other alleged founder, never annexed or conquered, unless the assumption of a few forts and fields that fell in by the misconduct of their holders can be so considered. The second map in Sir A. Lyall's excellent *Manual* quoted below shows that, at the end of his rule, in 1784, only Bengal and Behar, with the strip of coast from Ganjam to Masulipatam, the Madras *Jageer*, and the island of Bombay, bear the red colour of British power.

---

\* Committee-Report quoted in Sir A. Lyall's "Rise of British Dominion."

But in 1784 came a notable change. In that year Warren Hastings laid down his office, and Pitt's Bill became law, by which a parliamentary Board was made supreme in Indian affairs, with a Committee of four Directors of the Company for subordinate agents :—the beauty of this arrangement being that a member of the Royal Cabinet had ultimate power, while the blame could still be thrown on the Company whenever things went wrong.

The first Governor-General of British India who was appointed under this arrangement was a nobleman who had served—though not with much glory—as a military man in America ; Oriental experience he had none. Cornwallis was by no means a man of extreme aggressiveness ; nevertheless, it is remarkable that with his appointment began the forward policy which has ended as we see. It does not necessarily follow that a parliamentary rule must be one of conquest ; indeed, the statesmen of that day—Pitt and Dundas—were most abstemious and conscientious in their professions and instructions. But there is the fact. In Sir George Birdwood's very valuable *report* on India Office records (p. 251) will be found a list of territorial acquisitions made in the Company's name from 1784 down to 1858, from which it is quite clear that the British flag was carried over a great part of Southern India by Cornwallis and over a great part of Northern India by his successor, Wellesley, while the Board of Control and its "Secret Committee" continued to breathe caution from London. Nor can it be fairly pleaded that these things were due only to the distance and the delay of communications ; there was the Overland Mail in Dalhousie's days, and no one made more annexations than Dalhousie.

At the same time a non-acquisitive school was always open, in the country and even at home. The illustrious soldier-brother who was Wellesley's right-hand in all his wars, and several of the officials formed in Wellesley's own office, were opposed to aggression ; nay, Wellesley himself recorded his conviction that it was only the duty of his government to "resist unjust attacks," and that it ought to be "equally determined to respect the just rights of other States as to maintain its own." Sir Thomas Munro even denounced the "subsidiary system" introduced by Wellesley as tending to demoralise the native States ; Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm held similar opinions ; the Marquis of Hastings aimed only at making the British Government "paramount" over the other powers. Thus there has always been a force acting, though not always with equal strength, against the aggressive or expansive energy ; and the net result has been :—

1. That at this day over one-third of the territory of India is still under Native rule ; and

2. That the inhabitants of this large section of the Indian peninsula are as numerous as the population of Germany and France combined.

But if it be true that conquest is over, and the idea of annexation obsolete, we cannot go on to say that the spirit of encroachment is altogether flown. There will probably be found among individual citizens, and even among well-informed experts, a representation of two extreme opinions. There will be a number of optimistic experts who will magnify their office. British administration has doubtless been beneficent in many ways to India ; cruel practices have been put down ; a Penal Code has been introduced which is not only a fine work of legislation, but tends to become a kind of scriptural authority and standard of morals. Perhaps no other single achievement equals this ; but universities have been founded, many factories established, commerce extended and peace maintained ; all noble contributions to human welfare. On the other hand, there are critics, some of them not less informed than the experts, who point to a pullulating population of paupers of whom nearly 80 per cent. are dependent on agriculture under treacherous skies, alarmed and harassed by laws which they cannot understand and fiscal demands which, though not heavy, are inevitable as laws of natures.

All this makes the continued existence of native States alike useful and interesting. Their usefulness arises out of the faculty that they have of offering a career to indigenous ability ; such men as Salar Jung, Dinkar Rao, and T. Madhava Rao, in British India would have, perhaps, been Deputy Collectors or Judges of Small Causes ; in native States they proved rulers and reformers whose fame went beyond Indian limits. And a special interest arises out of the illustration that native States afford of a possible ultimate solution of the problems presented by British India. If ever an earnest, impartial enquiry were made into the condition of these territories, it might be found that the public welfare would be best promoted by the system adopted by Warren Hastings and endorsed by Munro and by Mountstuart Elphinstone—in a word, native administration under European impulse and control.

These native States have received various class-titles, sometimes distinguished as Protected or Allied ; sometimes called Feudatory, their generic denomination at present is "Internal States," as not lying on the frontiers of the empire. Alike in point of past history and present dimensions some of them are of considerable importance. For example, Hyderabad, Baroda, Indore and Gwalior, with, above all, the ancient group of Rajputana ; the first of which represents an old Moghul Satrapy, the second are portions of the famous Mahratta Confederacy, and the third is a group of Hindu

principalities, larger than the kingdom of Prussia and older than any European nation. Then, there is Mysore, originally an Independent State founded by a scion of the old dynasty of Bijanugger, and still ruled by a Raja of that house to whom it was ceded so late as 1881; and there is the fair valley of Cashmere, conferred upon a friendly Chief by Lord Hardinge after the conquest of the Sikh Army in 1846.

All these States exhibit a great and growing population, aggregating nearly sixty-four millions at the last census. They have adopted modern principles in civil administration and maintain a small but efficient military force in each case, while the chiefs know that misfeasance renders them liable to deposition and exile.

Now, the chances in favour of this system over one of direct British administration are by no means inconsiderable. Not only is the latter method beset by financial and other difficulties; it is also open to the objections brought by Munro against the much less direct action of Wellesley's "subsidiary system." One of these objections was its inevitable tendency to bring every native State under the exclusive dominion of the British Government. . . . One effect of such a conquest, so Munro urged, with wonderful foresight, "would be that the Indian army would gradually lose its military habits and discipline . . . to feel its own strength and turn it against its European masters." This was written over seventy years ago, and the process of time has made it good. All India has passed under British dominion, and a great part of the Indian army has turned its strength against its European masters. A flaw, still more deplorable on moral grounds, was pointed out by the same vigorous and experienced observer: wherever British administration came, freedom from the perils of Oriental methods "was purchased by the sacrifice of independence, of national character, and of whatever renders a people respectable."

On the other hand, there are the benefits of civilisation, some of which have already received notice here, and have been admitted to have done great good to India. As the late Michael Katkoff generously declared, more than ten years ago, in the *Moscow Gazette*, the British "have been the saviours of India." But this, as Katkoff showed, was not the result of direct introduction of British methods and institutions, so much as of the enforcement of peace and order, which would be equally possible even if there were not one white official in the country outside the Presidency towns.

Such centres of European industry as Bombay and Calcutta are of the nature of Crown Colonies, and may safely be treated as such—as indeed they have always been. But, apart from such

special cases, we have still to enquire, patiently and anxiously, whether a vast region containing hundreds of tribes, and scores of nations in almost all conceivable states of backwardness, is a fit soil for the transplantation of ideas and practices which have grown up in Western Europe from such different roots and in such varying conditions. Our insular life is quite exceptional, even in Europe, influenced by *Magna Charta*, the modified Feudalism of the Plantagenets, the semi-reform of religion under the Tudors, the political changes of the seventeenth century, and other movements more or less peculiar to ourselves, and quite unknown—or at least quite unfelt—in Oriental countries.

Further, there is this to be weighed, the population of India is about equal to that of the whole of Europe, while the resources of the British State there are comparatively small and inelastic; consequently, measures of administration, which appear in these islands to be necessities and matters of course, are possible in such a country only if carried out in an inexpensive and most imperfect way. And it may well be that a civilised administration conducted "on the cheap" may lose whatever advantage its exotic nature may have left it, and prove worse in the end than any amount of barbarism that does not offend decency or affect life and property.

It is true that an enquiry into the comparative advantages of British and Native administration was instituted in the Viceroyship of John Lawrence about thirty years ago. But that enquiry was conducted by British officials, who—with the best intention—were most unlikely to lay before a Viceroy who had risen from their own ranks a disparagement of their own procedure. Moreover, in thirty years and after sundry chiefs have been admonished and chastised, it is not unlikely that native rulers have improved and become more efficient. The restoration of the old dynasty in Mysore is not understood to have caused any mischief; whereas it is certain that in British India health, wealth and happiness have decreased and come into jeopardy.

It is a common-place of political history that backward races are bound to suffer from the impact of foreigners of better organisation and energy who settle among them. How much more likely is such a thing to happen when the new comers are people "with a mission." It is not only the attempt to destroy indigenous creeds and substitute the alien belief on religious subjects; that special form of the danger is, perhaps, obsolete; vanished with the narrow fanaticism of the famous Punjab school of forty years since. But the idea remains the preconceived opinion with which almost every earnest Anglo-Indian starts on his career: that is to say, the axiomatic

assumption that "the East is played out," and that Orientalism can produce no useful principles or practice. In John Lawrence's well-known words: "In labouring for the people of India we are to be guided, not by their conscience, but by our own."

Now, of course, in so far as the Indian conscience may have been depraved below the average level of humanity, this is self-evident, and must be admitted by the best of the natives themselves. Thus, when in 1829, Bentinck called for opinions as to the cruel rite of widow-burning, he experienced but little opposition. The reports, indeed, showed that there was no true antithesis between "our" conscience and that of the people, the question being one not of principle, but of practice; and the rite was abolished without opposition, save from a few cranky Englishmen. The same spirit will be found in all the most successful reforms; but hesitation may still be excused when we come to administrative details, where conscience need not be very scrupulous, so long as success can be obtained.

The subject is complicated and hard to deal with in a popular way: but what has been here advanced is not really very abstruse. The old Company's settlements were made neither for the acquisition of dominion, nor for the propagation of ideas. Greatness was thrust upon the Founders, partly by Moghul weakness, partly by French jealousy and ambition. In the language of Adam Smith, they established an empire to acquire customers. Instead of making trade follow the flag, they made the flag follow trade. Then, when the flag was flying on Fort St. George and Fort William, the acknowledged organs of British power stepped in, and the acquisitions of the Company were put under official control. The noble Governors sent out, with the support of Cabinets, soon set aside the authority of what they called "the cheesemongers of Leadenhall Street;" and the interior of the country became more and more a British Province. When Bentinck met Ranjit of Lahore, in 1831, he showed the Sikh chieftain, amongst other things, a map of India; and, on the latter being told the meaning of the red tint, he muttered "*sub lál hojaega*" (*all will become red*). The prediction was nearly fulfilled when the process was arrested by the Mutiny. We have still an opportunity of evading what we might, perhaps, find a damaging inheritance of the old annexing officials.

As an illustration of the dangers and difficulties attendant upon introducing exotic ideas into a land like India, the recent results of sanitary reform will be found instructive. The cases of eight municipalities being taken, it was recently found that, whereas the death-rate prior to the introduction of sanitary

works averaged 30·5, it had since risen to 32·8. It is not easy to account for such a result, unless it be that the funds raised are insufficient to ensure complete scientific arrangements; and, without such sanitation, may do more harm than good. In Bombay, the first commercial city of the Empire, where nearly six hundred thousand Rx., or conventional Indian £, are spent annually, the Bluebook of 1894 says: "The demands upon municipal resources are peculiarly heavy . . . the revenue has grown by 57 and the expenditure by 49 per cent. in ten years . . . The incidence per head is . . . 3·90 rupees in 1881, and 6·29 in 1891." And it is in Bombay that the plague was lately raging worse than it ever did in Constantinople.

The existence of these calamities is undeniable; and the inference that they are caused by some fault in the administrative machinery is but natural. Whether they exist, to a similar degree, in the provinces administered by the native governments that have arisen naturally, and, so to speak, out of the soil, would perhaps be worth ascertaining. One thing is clear: the men by whom the British Provinces are administered are, for the most part, aliens; and their official superiors are, if possible, stranger still. The District Officers, if they are only left long enough, learn to know their districts, the wants, habits, and desires of the people. But the advisers of the Viceroy are not chosen from this class; they rise from stool to stool in the Secretariat, and form a sort of apostolical succession of mechanical optimism: their experience is bounded by statistics; of the land itself they know no more than what they see from the windows of the special train that conveys them from Calcutta to Simla in Spring, and back from Simla in the Autumn, after the annual shower of Stars-of-India.

One lesson, indeed, these gentlemen have learned. They have ceased to annex territory. But that is not enough: the annexing spirit must be exorcised: they must cease to annex the thoughts and hopes of the natives; to confiscate their self-respect, as Munro said, and to make war upon the national conscience.

One great and grievous fallacy of the system is to point to the increase of population as a sign of the growing prosperity of British India, whereas it is the exact reverse. Such density as exists in parts of the country, without any corresponding increase in the means of subsistence, is a sign of reckless fecundity and an omen of ever-deepening distress. There are many rural tracts where a human being has no resource but agriculture and but half an acre of land to live on.

The late Earl of Lytton once said that he was firmly

convinced of the omnipotence of the Government of India, "because it had made a Lady of Sir O'Fishe's wife, which God Almighty Himself could not have done." But there is one thing that even the Government of India cannot do, and that is to make the monsoons regular. So long as that is the case, the Pax Britannica is a source of danger if it adds to the numbers of a population dependent upon such conditions; and we can only say, in the words of Holy Writ: "Thou hast multiplied the nation but not increased the joy."

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## ART. II.—MAPPILLA FAITH AND FANATICISM.

ON the South-Western coast of the British Indian Empire lies the lovely and well-favoured province of Malabar. It is a region of historic renown and of exceptional ethnological interest. More than twenty centuries ago its littoral was known to the Greeks and Arabs. In the *Periplus* and other works of that remote period, it finds frequent and prominent mention. Ships from Tarshish and from Tyre visited it and carried away gold and precious stones to help in the building of Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem. Later on, when Portugal was at the zenith of its power and splendour, at the end of the fifteenth century, the gallant De Gama, "with a bold, advent'rous band," set sail from Lisbon to find America, and found Malabar instead. His most powerful rivals there proved to be the Arabian Mahometans, or Moors, as the early writers called them, who had already founded flourishing colonies and established influential trade connections in several parts of the East Indies, which dated back from the time of the Ummayyide Caliph Walid, A.D., 705—15. Their sailors and settlers, who had occasion to sojourn in Malabar, founded and established their own mosques and imported their own religious teachers. The emigrants consorted freely with the comely Hindu women of the province and thus laid the foundations of that hybrid race which came to be designated Mappillas (from *Maha*—great, and *pilla*—child).

From Arabia the sacred Koran, "God's chiefest gift to men," was transferred to the palm-groves of Malabar, and it took a wonderfully firm hold of the newly-begotten race. But, gradually, as Arab ascendancy waned and as the Mappillas grew in numbers, beyond the influence of cultured Arabians, they began to place strange and quixotic interpretations on the lore contained in the sacred volume which the Angel Gabariel had handed down to Mahomet from the lowermost storey of Paradise. There arose preachers and expounders of the creed of creeds whose teachings nourished the frenzy and fervour with which the new Moslems were imbued by reason of their paternity; and amidst it all was ever present a burning desire to spread the Gospel of the Koran among the infidels.

In Malabar abundant material lay ready to hand in the out-caste Cherumer, Kannakkan and Polaya serf races of the province. The yoke of the high caste Hindus fell with cruel weight on these slave races. They durst not walk on the highways or in the byeways. They were forced to dwell in swamps

and marshes, far worse off than the wild beasts that disturbed their slumbers. They could not go where even their vile pariah dogs could. They sustained existence on the sorriest and scantiest fare. Every moment their lives were at the mercy of their haughty overlords. To such unfortunate creatures, how beautiful must have been the music of the message of deliverance that the preachers of the Koran brought. What glory and felicity did it not mean to become a Mappilla. No more wretched slavery; no more grovelling in the dust at the approach of the high caste Vere de Vere. The tragedy of life would be changed into something glorious and beautiful. What wonder that converts came freely to the banner of Islam, or that the scimitar and the torch—the two great agents of Saracen evangelisation—were not much in requisition? Here were far more powerful inducements at work, and they were more-over of a tangible nature, such as could appeal to gross minds.

The cause of Islam prospered as far as numbers were concerned, and at the same time it was clear that a great psychic effect was being produced on the Moslem renoncants. From a very low form of demonology they had stepped forward to a profession of one of the great religions of the world. They were asked to renounce the teachings that had been instinctively and intensely theirs for generations upon generations. They did so to some extent. But they were too crassly ignorant to grasp the higher ideals and principles of their foster creed. Their moral fibre still remained impervious to change. Their intellect refused to improve;—or, to speak more correctly, there was no attempt to improve it. As for their material status, as apart from their social position, its improvement was imperceptible. After all, the only change was that the emancipated serf could now fearlessly hold up his head and walk on the highway, or build him a habitation in some favourable quarter. He might own land and make money if he could. There the list of benefits ended.

It is not in the power of the religion of Mahomet to improve the material condition of its votaries, for Mahometanism forgets, in the first place, to improve their intellectual condition. If this is true of that higher form of Mahometanism which one meets with in the West, it is infinitely truer of the Mahometanism that prevails in Eastern lands; and, as the Malabar races, on whom the faith of Islam took hold, were sunk in abysmal depths of ignorance, the psychic effect on their minds was merely to create and nourish a rank, fiery, soul-absorbing fanaticism—the parallel of which it would be hard to discover anywhere in the world or in the pages of religious history. Doctrine and ritual came, little by little, to be

interpreted in marvellously original and ingenious ways. The religious teacher, himself ignorant and unequipped for his task, directed his teachings exclusively to the ignoble end of fomenting discord between the "faithful" and the "infidel." He was doubtless conscious of the fact that it was mainly by nourishing the spirit of fanaticism that he could keep his hold on his low, unlettered adherents, and succeed in propagating the religion that had, by an irony of fate, been consigned to his tender mercies. As the numbers of the faithful increased, the few material advantages which the early proselytes enjoyed grew painfully less, and in a land like Malabar, where the aristocracy have ever been despotic, this meant that the bulk of the Mappillas had to take a very subordinate position indeed.

Mahometanism is all very well, but it never yet filled the poor man's belly. The rich Moors were not numerous, and the majority of their co-religionists had therefore to slave for Hindu masters, or turn tenants under conditions that were decidedly hard. This led, in the old pre-British days, to frequent distressful occurrences of the kind that still continue to be enacted now and then. But the fanaticism of to-day is exclusively limited to the two Southern Taluks of Ernad and Walluvanad. Elsewhere, the Mappilla is as peaceable as you like, and has learnt to respect the British *raj* and its moral and physical puissance. Naturally, the question arises, why Ernad and Walluvanad should remain untamed and untameable. Well, firstly, because it is there that the majority of the Mappillas are descended from the lowest Hindu races—the serfs; and the germs of fanaticism are easiest bred in the hearts of the lowest and most uncivilised races, as we see in the case of the Soudanese Arabs. In other parts of Malabar, a fair proportion of the Mappillas are descended from the higher Hindu races. In Ernad and Walluvanad, their ancestors, almost to a man, had been meek, submissive slaves. It is invariably on such people that Islam has the most baneful effect. Secondly, in Ernad and Walluvanad, you meet with nothing but wild hill and jungle, intersected by no roads, containing no industries that could sustain a congested and prolific and unthrifty population. The vast stretches of meadow and jungle, the hilly fastnesses, the dense timber forests, all belong to heartless landlords, many of whom are absentee and are represented on the spot by avaricious and rapacious agents or *Kariastans*.

Amidst such scenes and conditions the Mappillas live. They overrun the land, but the land cannot bear the strain of supporting them. The landlord or his agents impose the most impossible conditions on the peasantry. Rack-renting maddens the soul of the slaving tenant. The landowner's satel-

lites must be propitiated every day of the year. The dishonest minions of a paternal Government understand the cruel art of sucking blood out of a stone. What is the result? Poverty, wretchedness, and, therefore, bitterness of heart. What the solace? Crime and lawlessness always, and bloody fanaticism whenever the chances offer. Seditious priests go round the country secretly telling the down-trodden peasantry that, against the infidel who oppresses them, it is holy and wholesome to wage war to the death. All over the Taluks are mosques and tombs which commemorate the glorious deaths of hero martyrs who had perished bravely while fighting for the sake of the one true faith. Mappilla homesteads are filled with the stirring music of war songs written to perpetuate such deeds of glory. The songs are rude, but there is passion and frenzy and fervour in them, and they stir the hearts of the impulsive Mappillas to the core. "Let me make the songs of a nation," said Fletcher, "and you shall make its laws." And the maker of these Mappilla war songs, or *gitans*, has wielded greater influence over his people than ever the law-giver has done.

There is a terrible power in some of the songs. They may be written in the vilest doggerel, a strange and pitiful mixture of Arabic, Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam, but the sense of them is taught to the people by their religious preceptors. That is enough. History has before now filtered down thus to the masses. Priests and old women and zealots tell tales of wondrous miracles wrought by those whom the bard has immortalised and who have attained Paradise. The songs themselves give wonderful descriptions of Paradise and its houris, and tell of how the delights of houridom may be reached. Does an infidel landlord grind down the face of his Mappilla tenantry, or does an infidel embrace the faith of Mecca and then insult it by an act of renegadism? Does an infidel insult the holy religion, or endanger its safety, or defile the sanctity of the sacred house in which Allah is worshipped by the faithful? These are all mortal sins, these insults to the faith of the Mappilla. Blood and blood alone can wipe them out. Stealthily, the firebrand Mollah moves from house to house, complaining bitterly and eloquently of these insults, fanning the dormant sparks of that fanaticism which he knows but too well will kindle into flame on some near day, drench the fields and meadows with blood, and bring hundreds of white soldiers, against whom it is glory to fight and to die, because death is but the opening of the golden gates of Paradise.

To afford the reader some idea of the fanciful nature of the Mappilla's religion and the sort of inspiration by which his

bards are fired, I give below a translation of a portion of a highly-popular war song written by a Hindu convert to Moslemism :—

"The soul in our body is in the hands of God.' Can we live for ever in this world? Must we not die once? Everything will die, but God alone will not. Such being His Commandment, we shall have no excuse when we are brought before Him after death ; so determine earnestly to fight and die. If we die fighting with the wicked men who attempt forcibly to burn this holy mosque, which is the house of God, we shall obtain complete salvation."

The occasion to fight and die is likened to a vessel that has come to bear the faithful to the shores of bliss. It will bear them to the broad gates of heaven.

"Is it not for the arrival of such a vessel that we should pray?"

"The pleasures of wealth or family are not equal to an atom of celestial happiness. . . . Our most Venerable Prophet has said that those who die in battle can see the *houris* who will come to witness the fight. There is nothing in this world to compare with the beauty of the *houris*. The splendour of the sun, of the moon, and of the lightning, is darkness compared with the beauty of their hair which hangs over their shoulders. Their cheeks, eyes, face, eyebrows, forehead, head are incomparably lovely. Their mouths are like corals of gold ; their teeth like the seeds of the *thali* flowers. It is not possible for the mind to conceive the loveliness of their breasts and shoulders. . . . If they spit in the sea, the salt water becomes as sweet as honey, as fragrant as *attar*. If they were to come down to this earth, and smile, the sun, moon and stars would be eclipsed. Mortals would die if they but heard the music of their voices. When they wear red silk bordered with green lace of seventy folds, their skin, muscles and bones can be seen through. Such is the splendour of their body. If they clap their hands, the clash of their jewels will be heard at a distance of 500 years' journey. They clap their hands and dance and sing as they come like swans to the battle-field. If a human being were to see their beauty, their dance, or their smile, he would die on the spot. Gently they touch the wounds of those who die in battle ; they rub away the blood and cure the pain ; they kiss and embrace the martyrs ; give them to drink of the sweet water of heaven and gratify their every wish. A horse caparisoned with carpets set with precious stones will be brought, and a voice will say: 'Let my men mount ; let them dance with the celestial *houris*.' Then the celestial coverings will be placed on their heads, they will mount the beautiful horses, which will dance and leap and take them to heaven, where they will live in unbounded joy.

"Such is the fate that awaits those who die fighting bravely. At the dissolution of the world, they will be sped like lightning over the bridge across hell. In heaven they will attend the marriage of Mahomet. They will be decorated with bunches of pearl and crowns of gold; they will be seated on the tusks of Mahomet's elephant and enjoy supreme happiness. . . . . All their sins will be forgiven, and God will listen to their prayers."

When songs like the above go deep down into the heart of an impressionable people whose Paradise is materialistic and appeals to the gross fancy, what wonder that, egged on to bloody fanaticism, the submissive turn into heroes, and, forming the desperate determination to die valiantly, rush out sword in hand? Insidiously, the flame is kindled. The preacher has preached his pernicious doctrines. Their seed germinates in the breasts of some of those who have listened and pondered. None who hear—not even those who do not care to become *Sayyids*, or martyrs—will dream for one brief second of turning on the preacher. No Mappilla ever fell as low as that. With the utmost secrecy meetings are convened. By night the would-be martyrs, thirsting for glory, meet in some lonely recess in the jungles. War-knives and guns and ammunition are surreptitiously collected. The preparations may last days, or even months. Then come the sacred days of the *Ramzan-ki-Rosa*, and the time is ripe for action. What though the religion of Mahomet, as understood in other parts of Asia and in Europe, declares that that is not the month in which to do war, except it be in defence? The ignorant Mappilla fanatic prefers to believe otherwise. To die as a *Sayyid* in the month of Ramzan is very good. The 17th day of this month and the 12th and the 28th are all good days, but the 26th is the best day of all. And once the fanatics have started on the war path, they try to choose one of these days on which to make their last stand and fight their way into Paradise. But woe unto the coward whose heart fails him at the last. All his virtuous actions are ignored. He will die a sinner and be thrown into hell, into a pit of everlasting fire, where countless legions of scorpions, snakes, worms, and frightful dragons will ceaselessly torture him. Rarely, however, does the fanatic turn back after once he has bidden his people good-bye, divorced his wife or wives, received the benediction of a Thangal or high priest, and passed his war-knife through smoke as an oath of his martyr resolve. Death—death to the last—is his only resolve. Thousands may come against him. The bullets may riddle his body in a hundred places. While there is breath in him, he will fight, and the visions of *houris* on

the battle-field will encourage him and stimulate him to put forth his best endeavours.

In the fanatical rising of 1849, when Ensign Wyse, of the 43rd Madras Native Infantry, was killed in action, one of the Mappilla fanatics had had his thigh broken in the engagement. For seven days he remained in all the agony attendant on an unhealed wound. Yet, when the Mappillas made their last sortie, there he was, hopping on his sound leg to the encounter, eager to strike one blow before being cut down. In December, 1843, ten fanatics charged deliberately into the midst of over two hundred trained and well-armed troops. In the Pandicad rising of 1894, a handful of Mappillas came rushing out like tigers from a Hindu temple in which they had taken post. It was scarcely dawn, and it was fearful to think of the recklessness with which they jested with death. The bullets from Lee-Metford rifles went flying into them, but nothing on earth could check their mad career. Many dropped in their tracks, some only fell when they had reached the feet of the British troops. Such is the terrible spirit of Mappilla fanaticism. Such is the faith of the Mappilla in his creed, as his Mollahs and Musaliars interpret it to him.

The courage that animates the Mappilla fanatic is magnificent; perhaps it is unrivalled. The Ghazi who comes down from the bleak Afghan rocks to murder, treacherously and in cold blood, inoffensive Europeans living on the borders of the British Indian Empire; the immortal Fuzzy-Wuzzy, who is credited with the possession of pluck and dash enough to break a British square—neither of these is in it with the Mappilla fanatic. After all is said and done, it is only fanatical courage. Yet it is not dying out. It has been a thorn in our side for a century, and, as the years go by, it seems to be gathering strength and becoming more irksome. The example of the blest who have gone before serves to keep the flame alive; that flame animates the breasts of men, women and children alike. In the rising of 1896 were several boys who were barely 14 years old each. One was 12; some were 17 or 18. Some observers have said that the reason why boys turn fanatics is because they may thus avoid the discomfort and suffering which the Ramzan entails. A dispensation from fasting is claimable when on the war-path. There are high hopes of feasts of cocoanuts and jaggery, beef and boiled rice. At the end of it all there is Paradise with its black-eyed girls. I am disposed to look upon the last as the main inducement.

The fanatic instinct in Ernad and Walluvanad is certainly racial. The average Mappilla may not have nerve and bigotry enough to make him an active fanatic; but, should his son or brother elect to "go out," he will silently acquiesce

and he will never be heard to express regret. The Mappilla wife, or mother, or sister may not, because of her sex, take up the war-knife and seek her a place alongside the resolute braves who are fighting for an imperishable crown, but she will listen unmoved to the story of how her men fell, bravely fighting for the faith. In the outbreak of 1894 a Mappilla youth was wounded, but not killed. The tidings was conveyed to his mother. She merely said, with the stern majesty of some Spartan matron of old: "If I were a man, I would not come back wounded." There are many such Mappilla women in the fanatic region of Malabar. Ask them, after an outbreak, what induced their men and boys to "go out," and they will merely say: "We know not." Stern, reticent, impassive, they hold it treachery to satisfy the vulgar curiosity of those who would pry into the motives of brave men who perished in order to win eternal bliss.

It has always been customary on the part of Mappilla fanatics to seal by the murder of an infidel their resolution to go out and die as *Sayyids*. Once on the warpath, they do not scorn to enter the houses of infidels and rob and pillage. Robbery and dacoity have, in fact, formed a special feature of some of the more recent risings. Apparently, the martyr's glory is not in any way lessened by rapine and plunder. It is permissible to kill all infidels, whether they resist or not. It is held creditable to use force in converting to the true faith all and any infidels who may be met with on the path. But, for all his curious belief and all his brutal fanaticism, the true Mappilla fanatic will never stoop to molest a woman.

Those who die fighting for the faith are revered as martyrs and saints who can work miracles from the Paradise to which they have attained. In the hour of peril think of them, it is said, and they will come to your aid and avert the direst calamity. A Mappilla woman was once benighted in a strange place. An infidel passed by, and, noticing her sorry plight, tried to take advantage of it to destroy her virtue. She immediately invoked the aid of one of the martyrs of Malapuram. A deadly serpent rushed out of a neighbouring thicket and flew at the villain who had dared to sully the chastity of a chosen daughter. Once, during a rising, a Mappilla who preferred to remain on the side of order and Government stood afar off and watched with sorrow the dreadful sight of his co-religionists being cut down by the European soldiery. It was a pitiful sight, and the heart of this secretly sympathetic watcher was very sore within him. But suddenly his emotions underwent a transformation, for there, through his blinding tears and the dust and the smoke of battle, he saw a wondrous vision. Lovely *houris* bent tenderly over the fallen martyrs



and bathed their wounds and gave them to drink of delicious *sherbet* and milk, and, with smiles that outshone the brightness of the sun, bore away the fallen bodies of the brave men to the realms beyond. The watcher dashed through the crowd and cast in his lot with the happy men who were fighting such a noble fight. And, after he was slain, these things were revealed to his wife in a vision, and she was proud thereof.

These and similar stories are believed as implicitly as the sacred Koran is believed, Such is the faith of the Mappilla.

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### ART. III—MODERN RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS.\*

[IN a communication, in the English and French Languages, made to the Tenth International Oriental Congress, held at Geneva, 1894, I described "The Ancient Religious Conceptions of the World before Anno Domini." Some of those conceptions are now entirely extinct; some maintain a useless, degraded existence; some are still mighty factors in the world's history. Some, again, were National; some Universal. All forms of Nature-worship, or animistic conceptions, known at that date, are now slowly dying away, being out of touch with the epoch. Under the influence of a book religion, and still more of a propagandist religion, such weak religious conceptions wither away.

At the present epoch there is a marked difference in the religious atmosphere, as well as in the feelings of mankind, in certain subjects. The very idea of sacrifice of animals, of human sacrifice, of oracles, signs from Heaven, miracles, dreams, visions, supernatural appearances, magic arts, astrology, possession by evil spirits, and such like, has disappeared. So also mutilations of portions of the body, disfigurement of the features, colouring of the skin, self-imposed tortures, asceticism, celibacy, weaknesses of the elder world, if not gone, are dying out, and can no longer be used as indices of the relation of the soul of man to God. Lying legends are put to scorn. The higher criticism brings all the records of ancient men and ancient nations to one stern test of credibility. The wild dream of written documents supposed to have come down from Heaven, and the audacious assertions, mere assertions, of plenary inspiration of individuals, or aggregates of individuals, called churches, are being respectfully, and with tender sympathy towards the fondly credulous, laid aside.

To all students of history and of mankind down to the present day the doctrines promulgated in Galilee in Anno Domini, seem to be the most suited to the requirements of mankind, all mankind in every stage of culture, in every variety of climate, or geographical environment, as there is no aim, which binds the receivers of these doctrines to any place like Mekka, to any material object like the Kaaba Stone, to any mineering language like the Arabic, Hebrew, or Sanskrit, to any social customs, or laws outside the great moral law of the

\* This article contains the substance of a paper prepared for the *Eleventh International Oriental Congress, held at Paris, September, 1897*. By Herbert Needham Cust, LL. D., Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

human race. But these simple doctrines have been altered, shall we say, "deformed?"—by accretions of Judaism and Paganism during the dark ages, and disfigured by the European coloured glass thrown over them. However, freedom of speech and writing and assembly having been obtained, and absolute equality before the Civil Law of the professors of every possible variety of religious conceptions having been developed, we may fairly leave the religious conceptions which existed in the first century of the Christian era to take their chance in the internecine struggle which social and commercial contact has produced. If, as I and many others believe, they are from God they will triumph: they require no Bulls of Popes, no Ukases of Emperors, and no Acts of the British Parliament.

The writer of these lines has his own strong views on the subject, and they are dearer to him than life; but no trace of their having blinded his vision will be found in this argument for he has stepped down into an open arena, and in his eyes wholesale abuse, or misdescription, or sneers, are not arguments; indeed, they indicate a weak case, which requires such support. To a person passing from the status of a sincere Hindu to that of a believing Christian it must be a severe intellectual struggle, and the danger is that the foundations of belief laid in childhood being once disturbed, the first change may be the forerunner of many more changes. The Christian born in the Faith, who has passed through a period of doubt, if he comes back by solid conviction to his old moorings, is stronger and better than the easy-going believer, who has taken no trouble to measure the depths, or examine the difficulties. The majority of mankind are in this dull intellectual stage. Religion has no real influence over them. There is something in the biting sarcasm of Ernest Renan ("Israel," v, 106) that religious ceremonies have "become, by the perverseness of mankind, a necessary imposture. The human race seems to have been created for the purpose of imbibing error, and even when the Truth is admitted, it is not done so for the real good reasons."

The old national faiths of the elder world were very tolerant: if left alone themselves, they would leave others alone. No doubt, the shoe did pinch, when a member of a family adopted an entirely new phase of ideas, such as a Hindu becoming a Mahometan, and the convert was deprived of his heritage, and sent to social Coventry: but to a Hindu sectarian within the pale there was no change. The precepts of Buddhism were, indeed, propagandist, but there was no persecution. If it be argued that there was persecution in the time of Darius and Medes, in the matter of casting Daniel into a den of lions, must be recollected that the offence was disobedience of the

ing's command, and this offence Daniel committed in an ostentatious and defiant way. He might have offered his daily prayers in secret. So the persecutions of the early Christians by the Roman Emperors were due very much to the defiant conduct of persons desiring to be martyrs. If a Sovereign ordered that an oath of allegiance should be made to him, surely this could be done without prejudice to religious convictions. With Christianity began the epoch of intolerance and persecution. The Hebrews had set the example in slaughtering the Priests of Baal and stoning Stephen. The Mahomedans followed the bad example set by Christians, but the arm of the persecutor is now arrested. Even then the evil would have been comparatively light, but that the curse of the arm of the flesh was invoked, cruelties, persecutions, disabilities enforced by the Civil Power to support the "my Doxy" view of a deep mystery against "your Doxy." Thus differences in religious views became one of the great curses of mankind: we see the latest survival of it in the present social persecution of the Hebrews in Eastern Europe.

The enfranchised intellect of mankind at the present epoch really thinks out the relation of the Soul to God, and two questions of most serious import have presented themselves.

- I. Is the same Religious Conception good for all time? Is there no room for Evolution?
- II. Is the same Religious Conception good for all climes, races, physical peculiarities, and Geographical environment?

Let us think out these points reverently yet faithfully.

I. Would the same religious conception which was deemed to be good for Abraham and Jacob in the nineteenth century B. C., be equally good at the close of the nineteenth A. D.? Did the same moral law prevail? Abraham married his own sister; had a child by his wife's maid; was quite ready to kill his own son, Jacob, at the age of seventy-seven, when he ought to have known better; took two sisters and their two maid-servants to be his wives, and their children were all equal in position to each other, and deemed to be legitimate. He grossly deceived his old father. He was ready to receive Jehovah as his God if he were supplied with food and raiment: *Do ut des.*" His wife, when she left her father's home, stole the images, that were her father's," and Laban, the Heathen father, charged his son-in-law, Jacob, with "stealing his gods." It must be admitted, that there was a considerable evolution of the religious idea during the nineteen hundred years which elapsed before the new Gospel was preached by Jesus to the petty tribes of the Hebrews amidst the millions of the nations subject to Rome, who were as nothing compared to the

hundreds of millions of the round world. A second period nineteen hundred years has since passed away, and can it truly said that there has been no spiritual and intellectual evolution since that time ?

II. Is the same religious conception good for all climates, races, physical features, and geographical environments ? The question has been earnestly discussed. We know as a fact that there is a great difference in the intellectual outfit and capacity of the races of mankind, and in these last days the whole round world has been explored, and every traveller brings home accounts of difference of colour, bodily structure, habits, aspirations and religious belief. There are portions of the human race contemporaries in birth, but centuries apart in intellectual evolution from other portions ; and with regard to the Hebrews, of whom we have a continuous history since the time of Abraham, how totally they have changed in every matter susceptible of change, except the mutilation of the male body ! And even as regards nations in a state of culture, what a vast chasm yawns between the learned and the unlearned ! When I conversed in their own language with my native friends in India, I adapted my conversation to the level of their historical, geographical, theological, and scientific knowledge, or they would not have understood me. Strong meat is not given to babes : that is true ; but should an infant's food be given to strong men ? Old weapons are usually hung up on walls with respect, but they are not made use of in battle. Old-world stories are alluded to with respect, but they are not brought into the counsels of practical man : they are reverently laid aside, as belonging to an intellectual phase of the human race long since gone by.

This brings us to the subject of the ancient religious books of the elder world. The knowledge of them has caused a vast change in the position of the great question, the relation of the soul to a Higher Power. It was very well formerly to assume that all mankind, with the exception of the tiny tribe of the Jews, were in intellectual darkness and gross ignorance of things spiritual. The writings of Plato and Cicero might, to any candid mind, have removed this illusion. But now the Sacred Books of the Hindu, Buddhist, Confucianist, Zoroastrian, Egyptian, Assyrian, and the Greek Philosophy, compel the inquirers into the subject to admit, that wisdom, holiness, sin, future Judgment and a just conception of the Creator were not the monopolies of the Hebrew in Asia during the centuries before Anno Domini ; and the fact that the large majority of the population of the world still profess non-Christian Faiths is a fact that cannot be gainsaid, in spite of the strenuous attempt of the most powerful, civilized, and devoted representatives of

the great nations of Europe and North America to lift up the veil. Take, for instance, the case of British India : the annual increase of population by way of ordinary procreation exceeds the number of converts and their families, the work of two or three centuries.

The great misfortune of dawning Christianity was, that there was no literary or social intercommunication betwixt the Hebrew and Græco-Roman world to the West, and there was an absolute ignorance of the great intellectual advances of Zoroaster, Buddha, the Hindu sages and Kong-Fu-Tzee in the East. It was a period of literary isolation. Paul of Tarsus, a man of education, quotes two Greek Poets ; but why had he not studied the works of Plato and of the Roman Philosophers ? He could scarcely have been ignorant of their existence. A visit of an hour by Paul to Seneca would have been well spent, and some communication with Epictetus would have been profitable to the great cause. The present epoch, nineteen hundred years later, presents a totally different environment. All who care to do so, read the utterances of Chander Sen, and Syed Amir Ali, and Comte, and many others, and those men read, in their turn, the utterances of those from whom they differ. There is a bold questioning of the past, and a still bolder looking out into the future.

It was necessary to make the above discussion in order to clear the ground for a description of the new religious conceptions, outside the great doctrines preached in Judea, which will now be briefly stated. There are two categories :

- I. The old systems purified, refined, and adapted to the environment of a civilized society.
- II. Modern conceptions formed from the blending of the old systems with Christian doctrine, either consciously, or unconsciously.

The first category comprises :

- A. Islam, with its latest Evolution, Bábiism.
- B. Neo-Judaism.
- C. Neo-Hinduism.
- 1). Neo-Zoroastrianism.
- E. Neo-Buddhism.
- F. Neo-Confucianism.

None of them are in precisely the same state as they were in before they came into contact with European culture.

A. *Islam* is well known to those who have lived in countries where it is professed. Ignorant persons choose to abuse it ; but it represents an immense advance in the evolution of spiritual ideas from the standpoint of the elder world. In peculiar environments it is apt to be degraded, as Christianity is also ; but in a realm of law, like British India, the sixty millions of

Mahometans commit no outrages, live decent lives, perform their religious duties and make good citizens : the charges against Islam are not based on what is derived from their religious conceptions, but from their former lawless environment and the weaknesses of common humanity when uncontrolled by courts of justice, and a strong ruler. The sect known as the Bábi is a new one. A young Persian named Mirza Ali Mahomet, in 1844, gave out that God was manifested in his person, and he assumed the title of Báb, or Door, the channel through which the true meaning of the Koran is revealed : he wrote a Book called the Beyan, which would, according to his views, supersede the Koran, and that he whom God should manifest, would soon appear. He was martyred by the Mahometans, and in the hour of death was patient, and content, and willing to be sacrificed. A successor to him was named, and it is clear that a religious revival of an exalted stamp has taken place, and we know not what the end will be, now that the arm of the persecutor is restrained by European influences.

B. *Neo-Judaism* : there are sounds of life in this dead tree, a shaking of dead bones, and an advanced section propose to start Judaic Missions and a New Judaism. But to this form of religious conception, and that of Islam, the disgraceful rite still clings of the mutilation of the male body, which differentiates it from all religious conceptions of the ancient world, and all religious conceptions of the modern world, of a really spiritual character, which, in the Nineteenth Century, an epoch of culture and personal respect, must deter converts. Females are practically excluded from admission, as there is no initiatory rite for them : we have only to imagine an infatuated unmarried member of the New Woman type desiring to accept the doctrines of Islam.

C. *Neo-Hinduism* is a movement entirely independent of any Christian or European influence. Daya Nanda, of Ajmír, the founder of the Arya-Somáj, died in 1883, and he was the determined champion of the literal interpretation of the Veda, which, in his opinion, were brought down from Heaven in material form, and embraced all knowledge, human or Divine, past, present, or future. This movement is in sharp contrast with that of the Bráhma-Somáj, which will be described further on. Two remarkable facts are asserted—that the Veda do not admit of translation, only of commentary, and that it is a duty to place them in the hands of the devout in the cheapest possible form. The doctrines of the Arya-Somáj consist of negative oppositions to Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. The *motif* of the movement seems to be to get rid of many of the Hindu customs of a late date, which

had crept in after the epoch of the Veda, and yet to keep clear of any new religious conceptions introduced from foreign countries : it is also an agency for mutual help, and self-improvement. The idea is the elevation of a great nation, considering independently its spiritual position as regards the past and the future.

D. *Neo-Zoroastrianism*. A community of about 100,000 persons in British India represents the survival of this most ancient and important religious conception ; but they are eminently wealthy, respectable, and educated, and are monogamists. The advanced party, as among the Hebrews, is ready to reform the abuse of centuries in their customs. Their sacred books in Zend have literally been revealed to them by European scholars. They, like the Hebrews, have seriously considered the expediency of attracting converts. The conception is purely monotheistic, and there never have been temples, images or altars. Herodotus said so 500 B.C. ; it was true then and is so still. They reverence Fire, as the refulgent symbol of God, but are incorrectly called worshippers of Fire. The assertion that they admit a dualism of two independent and hostile spiritual Powers, is a mistake : the idea of the " Evil Spirit " is identical with the Jewish idea of Satan. They believe in the immortality of the soul, a life to come, and rewards and punishments. Their moral system is : " Good words, good thoughts, good deeds : think nothing but the Truth, speak nothing but the Truth, and do nothing but what is proper." Their religious practice is disfigured by the exposure of the bodies of the dead to be devoured by birds of prey. I discussed this matter with an enlightened Parsi, but he considered it the best way to get rid of the dead : perhaps they will gradually accept cremation as a compromise, as in a civilized country it would be intolerable to find feet and hands of human bodies dropped by birds of prey who had brought them from the Towers of Silence.

E. *Neo-Buddhism*. This ancient propagandist religious conception was well known in past centuries. The number of its followers, real or nominal, exceed that of any other ; but it is frightfully degraded. The question is, how far will it take a share in the evolution of coming generations. There is a possibility of adherents joining them, of which we have a notable instance recorded in *The Times*, September 28, 1889, of an American named Powell being received with due ceremony into the Buddhist community by the spiritual head at Colombo.

The marked partiality for Buddhism exhibited in Europe and America cannot but react upon the Native communities, as education extends to them and notices of revivals are chronicled in the newspapers. Buddhist associations are formed



to counteract the Christian missionary ; opposition-schools are opened. In Japan we hear of a reformed Buddhism being preached by a Japanese fresh from Oxford.

Attempts are made to blend Buddhism and Christianity, and instances are reported in Burma among the Karén. The initiatory rite consists of swallowing a portion of rice, paying a fee to the spiritual chief, keeping the Christian Sabbath, and having a service in imitation of Christians. The adherents of this new form of worship are said to number thousands. No information is given as to the doctrine taught, but the facts stated show the readiness of ignorant people to accept new teachings.

What is Buddhism in reality, and in what light does the cult appear to the inquirer into the spiritual history of mankind?

True Buddhism is Humanitarianism, something very like the Gospel of Humanity, which I shall notice under the head of Positivism, the essence of which is the elevation of man by human intellect, intuition, teaching, experience, and effort, to the highest degree of perfection ; and yet something very different, for the Buddhist Ideal is the renunciation of all personal existence : the perfection of the Buddhist is annihilation, and to the unsophisticated intellect the notion of extinction by becoming Buddha has a weird attraction, and the doctrine of transmigration explains, and, to minds not enlightened, is the only intelligible explanation of, the undeserved material prosperity of the wicked and the undeserved sufferings of the good. I fear that the world has not got rid of either of these two doctrines, or get out of this dilemma.

We have only now to estimate whether this godless moral machine will form a nucleus for the reception of educated and thoughtful men, seeking to follow what to them seems the right way. We are hardly fair judges, for to our apprehension there exists in the human mind, from the beginning of consciousness, a something, whether we call it a suspicion, or an innate idea, or an intuition, or a sense, of a Power greater than ourselves. The animal creation, except man, feels it not ; but man has an ineradicable and congenital feeling of dependence and reliance on a higher Power, not necessarily a benevolent Power, a consciousness of control by it, which the word "Religion" suggests. "It is He that hath made us, not we ourselves." Buddhism is the absolute negation of this feeling. The great founder of Buddhism underestimated the power of this feeling in the human breast.

Let me say a word on the other side. Buddha claimed only to be the ideal of that self-subjugation which man *might* attain. This ideal is not far from Christian perfection. What did Buddha leave behind him when he died 500 years

before the Christian era? No God, no Heaven, no Future State, but the spirit of universal charity and benevolence, mercy and pity, until then totally unknown; self-denial, self-consecration, simplicity of ceremonial, equality of all men, religious tolerance, and the absence of all the frightful disfigurements which cling to the skirts of every other religion, priestcraft, ritual, formality, pride, hypocrisy, ignorance. His leading principle was altruism as opposed to egotism.

F. *Neo-Confucianism*. The nature of the teaching of Kong-Fu-Tzee is well known. The system is imposed by the State, and it must be recollected, that the Great Sage was chiefly a compiler of the ancient traditions of the Middle Kingdom, as well as an independent author. It may well be expected, that the contact with the foreigner, and the publicity of the Press, and the advance of Education, will clear away much that has degraded his teachings in aftertimes.

The strange notion which underlies Ancestral Worship is not peculiar to China, as, in the system of Roman Pagan worship, the *lamia* and *lemures* were believed to wander about as ghosts, not having yet come to their rest, and at a later period were regarded definitely as evil spirits. Such antiquated delusions die hard; but they disappear under the influence of education.

The subject of ancestral worship was discussed at the Missionary Conference at Shang-Hai in 1890: the features of that worship are:

- (1) Divine attributes are ascribed to the dead.
- (2) The real motive is fear of evil from evil ghosts.
- (3) The manes of those who have no descendants, are propitiated out of mere abject cowardice.
- (4) Every individual is supposed to have three souls:
  - (a) the one which goes to Heaven;
  - (b) the one which sticks to the tablet in the house;
  - (c) the one which remains in the grave.

All this may be true; but the conception is so contrary to reason, that it would appear possible to disentangle the Chinese mind: this, however, will not be effected by mere abuse of the custom, but by calm reasoning. There were a few missionaries at the Conference of sufficiently enlarged views to detect the good in the system; it inculcated filial piety, and tended to preserve purity and morality of the family. Unfortunately missionaries have, with many compensating excellent qualities, very contracted visions, and, as on the Opium-trade-question, so on this they seem to have lost all power of forming independent judgment. Remarkable as this Chinese cultus is, the inability of reasoning men to understand things reasonably is equally remarkable. Reckless abuse cures no evils.

The doctrines of Kong-Fu-Tzee are based on the consciousness of right and wrong, either innate in man, or bestowed by what is called "heaven" on man. Vague as may be the Chinese term translated "heaven," it is better than the avowed atheism of the Buddhist, or the confused polytheism of corrupted Taouism. The professor of the latter two forms of belief is indebted for his convictions of duty to his education in the teachings of Kong-Fu-Tzee, just as men of European culture, who deny the divinity of Jesus, have unconsciously, yet immutably, their sense of duty based on the Christian standard. The conversion of the Chinese thus presents a problem unequalled in difficulty and grandeur in any part of the world. I am informed by a missionary labouring in the China field, that purified or Neo-Confucianism is a very possible danger, for baptized Chinese still seem to think that Christianity is only an improved form of Confucian morality. Perhaps the use of the term Shang-Ti contributes to this idea.

The second category comprises :

- A. Brahmoism.
- B. Theosophy.
- C. Hau Hau, Te Whiti, Te Kooti, of New Zealand.
- D. Mormonism.
- E. Positivism, or Comteism, or the Religion of Humanity.
- F. Agnosticism.
- G. Unitarianism.
- H. Theism.

A. *Brahmoism* is essentially different from the Neo-Hinduism of the last category, as the influence of the Christian idea and practice is admitted : it thus belongs to a different epoch of conceptions.

The founder of the Brahmo-Somaj, Keshab Chander Sen, broke away from the old conservative party, and went further in his zeal for religious purity ; he was ready to give up caste, to select the best from all the sacred Codes of the world, and form a Sacred Code. Socially, he condemned polygamy and early marriages. He laid down that there was one true God, that we must love Him, and do the works which He loves ; that His only temple is in our hearts ; that the only ceremonies are good works, the only sacrifice self-renunciation, the only pilgrimage the company of the good, the only Veda, Divine Knowledge ; the most sacred formula, "Do good and be good ;" the only true Brahmin is he who knows Brahma. All founders of Religion thus speak with authority about the existence of God, and the spiritual truths, which are essential to human salvation. There is plenty of Christianity also on the lips of professing Christians. In one of his speeches he thus states his case : "The Brahmo-Somáj was originally estab-

"lished for the propagation of Theistic worship, and after a time the movement spread through the length and breath of Bangál. Wherever there was an English school, a Brahmo-Somáj was established, as a necessary consequence of English education. After twenty years it was found that there was a defect in the foundation, for the Veda, upon which their faith was based, taught, along with some truth, many errors, such as Nature-worship, transmigration, and absurd rites and ceremonies. Abandoning the infallibility of the Veda, the Brahmo appealed to Nature, to their own hearts, to their own religious intuitions, in order to establish themselves upon a purely Theistic basis. But the Society, though it attained doctrinal and devotional purity, was not practical. Hence lately there has been a secession of the progressive party, which protests against caste and all social evils."

It is clear from the above that Brahmoism is a place of refuge, temporary or permanent, for the educated Hindu. The movement has lasted seventy years; has advanced in the right direction, socially and spiritually; is in consonance with the spirit of the age and with the tendency of the Hindu intellect to speculate on monotheism; is free from all social defilement and all spiritual transcendentalism, and is one of the most powerful rivals of the Christian faith.

In Exeter Hall, 1890, in my presence, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor in Northern India, who had full knowledge of the subject, thus expressed himself: "There was being rapidly raised up a class of men in India as educated and cultured as those who left the schools and colleges of England. It was a small but very influential class, for they were the men of the Press and of literature, and had the control of the destinies of the many in the future. They had no difficulty in procuring books to read, for all the resources of English literature were open to them; but the great question with them was that of choice: what should they read? He thought that the Brahmo-Somáj was doing a splendid service in this direction. He regretted that that system stopped short of Christianity, but it was opposed to atheism, materialism, and immorality. He knew that differences of opinion existed as to that system, many regarding it as a hindrance to the spread of Christianity; but he believed it to be a help, in that it was preparing the way for a great Christian work in India."

In 1882 P. C. Moozumdar published in Calcutta a book intended to give a tolerably complete idea of the principles of the movement, called the "Faith and Progress of the Brahmo-Somáj." It appears that it sent out Missionaries who had travelled far and wide. In 1884 there were one hundred and

fifty branches all over India ; and missionary work was a part of their system. They had prevailed on the Legislature of British India to pass an act to legalize civil marriages, so as to save them from even a formal conformity to idolatrous ceremonies. There are two or three bookstalls, well furnished with vernacular literature, the only article of Western origin being a Buddhistic catechism of English and Burmese, by Colonel Olcott. There are other interesting features of this new development, recalling the so-called heresy of Gnosticism in the second century of the Christian era, which was, in fact, of purely Pagan origin, assimilating certain conceptions from Christianity. This gave it its vital force, and procured it an interest long after it had died away. We must not be surprised to witness similar combinations, where the life-giving touch of even imperfect Christian development comes into contact with the decaying embers of moribund Pagan ideas. A combination of Neo-Buddhism and the Romish Worship is not impossible ; and the uncontrolled transcendentalism of the Salvation Army might possibly incorporate elements of Neo-Hinduism. The questions on which the Gnostics speculated were precisely those which, at all times and in all ages, have agitated the hearts of men, viz., the origin of life, the origin of evil, and the hopeless corruption of the world, although created by a God perfectly wise, holy and powerful. The Hindu intellect revels in such subtle and profitless question.

B. *Theosophy*. It has no connection whatsoever, in its modern shape, with the Theosophy spoken of by early writers. It is an entirely modern development, and chiefly confined to India ; the persons connected with it being an American, Colonel Olcott, and a Russian, Madame Blavatsky. Colonel Olcott defines the word Theosophy as "Divine Wisdom," "an all-pervading eternal principle in Nature, with which the interior intuitive faculty in man is akin." The objects of the Society are :

- (1) To form a nucleus of a universal brotherhood of Humanity without distinction of race, creed, and colour.
- (2) To promote the study of Eastern literature, religions and sciences, and indicate their importance.
- (3) To investigate the hidden mysteries of Nature and the psychical power in man.

These are bold words. The Society has been in existence since 1875, and its headquarters are chiefly at Madras. It has a periodical literature of its own, and the whole of India, Ceylon, and Japan have been visited. Truth can only triumph after thoughts have been stirred. We may rejoice at any wind which breaks the hopeless calm of ignorant Paganism.

One extraordinary feature is the introduction on the stage of Mahatmas, or Sages, supposed to be hidden away somewhere in the ranges of Himalaya, who have conquered all knowledge and appear in visions to their votaries.

In the *North American Review*, August, 1890, Madame Blavatsky claims for the movement a success beyond the dreams of the originators. She tells us that it is based on three principles:

(1) The Brotherhood of Men.

(2) The Study of Oriental Theories.

(3) The investigation of hidden force in Nature and in Man. She enumerates thirty-eight Chartered Branches in America, twelve in Great Britain, and one hundred and fifty elsewhere: there are seven centres of publication, with two Magazines in France, one in America, and one in London: their aim and desire is to help in some degree the formation of correct scientific views of the nature of man. For many a long year humanity has been crying out in the dark for light and guidance: only the Masters of Eastern Wisdom (the Mahatma) can set the foundation on which the new edifice can be built so as to satisfy the intellect and the spirit, and guide humanity through the night into clearer day.

So long as philosophers draw on the imaginary spirits coined by their own fertile and excited brains, we can bear with them; such was it ever: but, when we are called upon to look for spiritual enlightenment to the utterance of Indian sages, the Sanyasi, the Vanaprastha, the cave-dweller, whom no one ever met, or heard of, but who are supposed to be lurking out of touch with humanity, living apparently upon nothing, and when these worthies appear in a marvellous way and reveal truth to an American and a Russian, totally ignorant of any Indian Language, a line must be drawn. Whatever may have been the case in the time of the Emperor Augustus Cæsar, at least at the close of the nineteenth century, the idea of Angelic appearances, Visions, Heavenly Messengers and Miracles must be respectfully laid aside, as out of harmony with a material epoch.

C. *Hau Hau, Te Whiti Te Kooti*. This is a religious development among the Maori in New Zealand. In 1864 they rebelled against the British Government; a party of the 57th Regiment fell into their hands, were killed, and their heads cut off. In their hatred to the British Government they invented a new Religion, and made the head of the British Officer who commanded the party killed, the symbol and centre of the system. They had been nominal Christians. Their new religion was called *Pai Marire*, and a high priest was appointed who professed to receive inspiration from the Angel Gabriel through the medium of the Captain's head. They believed themselves to be under the protection of his

Angel and of the Virgin Mary that the Christian Religion was false; that all Scriptures ought to be burned, no Sundays to be kept, and the sexes to live promiscuously so as to secure increase of population. Their priests claimed to have super-human powers and could secure victory by shouting "Hau-Hau!" Hence their name.

Te Whiti was a chief in the Northern Island at Parihaka, near Mount Egmont. He rebelled, and was defeated and imprisoned at Christ Church and Nelson, and has since been allowed to return to his home. He called himself a prophet, but was really only a patriot. He read the Bible, and no other book; he pretended to have divine power, but his real object was to save his lands from the white settlers. He secured an influence over his countrymen in this way, preaching passive resistance; but when things became extreme, he declared that he had a divine message (Atua) put into his mouth, ordering his people to fight for their land.

Te Kooti was another of the insurgent chiefs, who, after rebellion and murder, assumed the rôle of teacher, and founded a religious system, which attracted many followers, including Native Christians. With an outward show of reverence for spiritual things, it served as a cloak for licentiousness. Most of the pervert Christians returned to their old faith. Of late years a change has come over Te Kooti's followers, and the cause of temperance has rapidly increased, and a few have become Christians.

*D. Mormonism, or Latter Day Saints.*—In all the reports from New Zealand I read of the Mormons being very active among the Maori. Their missionaries go about among the ignorant people, and the Book of Mormon has been translated into Maori, and printed and put into circulation. They have also appeared in India. The history of this sect is well known. It was only in 1830 that the prophet Joseph Smith produced the Book, and made known the new dispensation, communicated to him by Angels. The Christian Scriptures are accepted, but the Book of Mormon was added. The form of government is a strict theocracy maintained by the elders. A kind of Polytheism has come into existence, including Adam, Christ, Joseph Smith, and Brigham Young. They are total abstainers from the use of liquors or tobacco, and practise total immersion. They prosecute their missionary work with great zeal all over Europe, in America, and in Oceania. Their numbers are small; still they represent a disturbing agency, which has to be reckoned with. The custom of polygamy has been authoritatively abolished, and was not part of the original Revelation.

A Christian Minister, 1890, thus states the case of the

**Mormons:** "The Mormon missionaries are not false-hearted and deceitful, but possessed of a large measure of sincerity and zeal: the Latter Day Saints send out more missionaries, and make more converts in proportion to the number of their adherents, than any other body; a world-wide dominion is their object: 90,000 converts made the long journey from Europe to Utah."

Among their good features are:

- (1) No Saint lives for himself, but for the Kingdom.
- (2) Salvation was desired for the sake of Service.
- (3) All personal and family considerations must be left in strict subordination.
- (4) An adherent must go where the Church sends him.
- (5) They go without salary, and serve at their own charges, for in their opinion to pay salaries would be to imitate the ways of the Christian clergy.

On the other side, let us consider their folly and falsehood.

- (1) They pretend to heal their sick with prayer and oil; four hundred and sixteen suffering from small-pox were cured by simply laying on of hands.
- (2) They cast out devils: three hundred and nine in Wales all in one day, the work of one elder, and in parties of from three to thirty-seven at one time.
- (3) If not received, they denounce woe and malediction. New York was well nigh destroyed by fire two years after one malediction, if we believe their story.
- (4) They used to deny that polygamy existed, although notoriously it was practised.
- (5) Piety is not required of a Saint, nor even morality.

It is asserted that the recent Circular (1890) forbidding polygamy is merely a formal submission to the law of the Land, not an *ex animo* condemnation of an immoral custom: in fact, polygamy will be replaced by profligacy.

**E. Positivism, or Comteism, or the Religion of Humanity.**—Forty years ago Auguste Comte, a Frenchman, developed a system of Positive Philosophy, which, for a time, had a wide influence, as, indeed, there were certain incontestable truths in his method. He had a school which followed him, and Mr. Frederick Harrison is now the representative teacher, and propounds his views on the first day in each year, called the Day of Humanity. A few weeks ago there was a function of the Positivist community in London on the occasion of the death of a respected citizen. Before he was cremated his friends assembled round his coffin, covered with white flowers and surrounded by



palms. Mr. Harrison reminded the mourners "that there was no open grave, no religious service of any kind, but merely an expression of personal affection and farewell, and he claimed for the deceased that immortality which comes of well-doing and good example. Of immortality beyond this Mr. Harrison knew nothing and asserted nothing." This form of worship, accompanied by cremation, may be an acceptable retreat for the devout and educated Hindu.

In 1895, in the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Harrison thus expresses himself: "If there can be a Scientific Religion, there is no alternative between Revelation and Humanity. If in this world God is not present to us as the dominant Power, as the object of our regard and trust, then Mankind must be. It is in vain for Agnostics to tell us that we need no Religion, that there is no dominant Power ascertainable, that we should contemplate the Universe, the Infinite, the All, the Possible, the Unknowable, the inexhaustible sum of ceaseless Evolution. The answer is: 'We will have a Religion; we must have a Providence; we yearn for a Power akin to ourselves; it is either God—or Humanity.'"

*F. Agnosticism.*—There is no necessity to do more than write the word, which represents so much in the present age. Those who profess it, have not concealed their light under a bushel, and their tenets are as old as the Book of Job: "Oh! that I knew where I might find Him!" It represents a resting-place, or rather a place of unrest, which must be taken account of in considering the subject which I am now discussing. The enlightened one, the Buddha of this School, knows, or at least has tried to fathom, the depths of the system, as beautifully described by a modern English poet with regard to Lucretius:

"Who dropped his plummet down the broad  
Deep universe, and said, 'No God,'  
Finding no bottom, who denied  
Divinely the Divine, and died  
Chief poet by the Tiber's side."

But for the poor sheep who have followed them in the wilderness, scientific Scepticism resolves itself into mere doubt, and intellectual Agnosticism into an ignorance as deep as that of the South Sea Islander. The last state of the Hindu and Chinese when they have left their ancient moorings, which at least gave some guarantee to morality, will be worse than the first. The tendency of the works of one of the greatest of the school is to display humanity passing through one after the other of the world's historic religions, the conception of the Deity and of Divine Government becoming at each step more and more abstract and indefinite. The ultimate goal is Philo-

sophic Atheism, for, although the existence of a First Cause is not denied, it is declared, and proved, to be unknowable. The Hindu is better off with his Brahma, than the hapless heir of all the ages who has followed the will-of-a-wisp of a god until it finally disappears.

*G. Unitarianism.*—A Unitarian magazine has been started in Japan. The Christian Missionary thinks fondly that by the end of the nineteenth century the progressive Japanese will have cast off their old faith; but what will they have adopted from Europe? Some think that Unitarianism will do for the common people, and may meet the perplexity of the educated Hindu mind. It is as well to know what Unitarianism is, and one leader has, after an honoured and holy life, put forth his final manifesto: "A conclusion is forced upon me, on which I cannot dwell without pain and dismay, that Christianity, as defined and understood by *all* the Churches which formulate it, has been mainly evolved from what is transient and perishable in its sources, from what is unhistorical in its traditions, mythological in its preconceptions, and misapprehended in the oracles of its prophets. From the fable of Eden to the imagination of the last trumpet, the whole story of divine order of the world is dislocated and deformed. The blight of birth-sin, with its involuntary perdition; the scheme of expiatory redemption, with its vicarious salvation; the incarnation, with its low postulates of the relation between God and man, and its unworkable doctrine of two natures in one person; the official transmission of Grace through material elements in the keeping of a consecrated corporation; the second coming of Christ to summon the dead and part the sheep from the goats at the general Judgment: *all* are the growth of a mythical literature, or Messianic dreams, or Pharisaic theology, or sacramental literature, or popular apotheosis. And so nearly do these vain imaginations preoccupy the creeds that not a moral or spiritual element finds entrance there except 'the forgiveness of sins.' To consecrate and diffuse, under the name of 'Christianity,' a theory of the world's economy thus made up of illusions from obsolete stages of civilization, immense resources, material and moral, are expended, with effects no less deplorable in the province of religion than would be, in that of Science, hierarchies and missions for propagating the Ptolemaic Astronomy, and inculcating the rules of necromancy and exorcising. The spreading alienation of the intellectual classes of European society from 'Christendom,' and the detention of the rest in their spiritual culture at a level not much above that of the Salvation Army, are social phenomena which ought to bring home a

"very solemn appeal to the conscience. For their long arrear of debt to the intelligence of mankind, they adroitly seek to make amends by *elaborate beauty of Ritual Art*. The apology soothes for a time, but it will not last for ever." (Martineau, "Seat of Authority in Religion," p. 650; Longmans, 1890.)

**H. Theism.** That this form of Religious Conception is making progress, cannot be controverted. Science progresses, and the minds of men expand: one increasing purpose runs through the age. It is impossible to take account of the steady progress of the human race in its acquired power of reasoning, in its infinitely enhanced capacity of judging of the credibility of ancient narratives, without feeling that what was suitable to the childhood of the human race may not have been intended for its manhood. We cannot but be conscious of the evolutionary atmosphere in which we move: we cannot shut our eyes, or close our ears, to the movements around us. The "*terminus ad quem*" of all speculations must be the existence of a God, and that is Theism, something very distinct from Unitarianism. The question cannot be got rid of by platitudes, or common-form quotations. Uncongenial as may be the problem, there it is, the problem of the Future.

#### CONCLUSION.

It cannot reasonably be concluded that the knowledge of Man of his relation to his Creator reached its highest possible level nineteen centuries ago, when every branch of human science was in its infancy, and the human race was in its childhood, with no knowledge of its environment, or its capability. There were many eternal truths spoken by ancient men, and they are still truths, but do not occupy the whole orbit of the human intellect. There may be still stores of truth not yet distributed, stores totally unknown to the wise men of the past, but which are gradually developed.

Existing creeds were not all false, because they are not entirely true now: they were suitable to their time, and did their work: they were not final: and they have been corrupted by time: "*Corruptio optimi pessima*." All that is asked is tolerance of the opinions of others, and non-interference of the State. We can calmly wait for the survival of the truest, and in the meantime each can accept those which are most in harmony with his own spiritual wants, and deeply wrought-out convictions. The majority of mankind are by their hard lots, their want of leisure, their gross ignorance, their utter indifference, content to let things go on as before. Let each man believe, but understand what it is that he is believing, and not take it on credit, like the Hindu, from past generations.

ROBERT NEEDHAM GUST.

April 21, 1897.

#### ART. IV.—HORACE.

**H**ORACE is, in no unpleasant sense of the word, the most egotistical of poets. Most of his poetry is about himself; but, as he is an engaging and interesting personality, his readers are in little danger of finding these self-revelations wearisome. Horace has far too much well-bred tact ever to degenerate into a bore, and we feel it a privilege and a pleasure to be admitted to the confidence of such a man. Owing to this continual practice of self-reference, he is more familiarly known to us than almost any other writer of Antiquity, and from his own writings alone it is possible to construct a tolerably full biography of the poet and to form a fair estimate of his character.

Horace tells us that he was born at Venusia, on the banks of the far-resounding Aufidus, a river in Apulia, in the consulship of Lucius Aurelius Cotta and Lucius Manlius Torquatus, that is to say, in the year 65 B. C. From the fact that a man of such a deeply affectionate nature as Horace was makes no mention of his mother, we may, perhaps, infer that she died in his infancy. Of his father we know a good deal. He was a libertinus, a freedman, that is, a man who had been a slave and gained his freedom. He followed the trade of co-actor, or collector of auction money, and out of his savings bought a farm at Venusia. Detecting signs of exceptional intelligence in his son, he resolved to give him such a liberal education as seldom fell to the lot of boys born in such a low estate. Thus the future poet, instead of being educated at the provincial school at Venusia, was taken to Rome by his father, and sat on the same benches as the children of senators and knights. The son of poor parents at school often has his sensitive nature outraged by the contrasts between his threadbare clothes and other signs of poverty and the display of his richer school-fellows. From the pain of such contrasts Horace was preserved by his father's loving care. "Had any," he tells us in the most autobiographical of his satires, "seen my dress and the servants attending me as is usual in a great city, he would have thought that such expense was defrayed from an old hereditary estate."

Horace's admirable father paid as much attention to his moral as to his intellectual training. Giving up his business in the provincial town of Venusia and leaving his farm to the care of others, he lived with his son at Rome, so as to shield him by his presence from the temptations of the great and vicious city. He also guided his son in the path of virtue by pointing out living examples of the disgrace and misery that follow vice,

on the principle that the impressionable mind of the young is deterred from vice by the example of others, just as intemperate men are often frightened into sobriety by the sudden deaths of their neighbours. "A philosopher," this practical moral instructor told his son, "will give you the right reasons for shunning or choosing things ; it is enough for me if I can maintain the custom handed down from our ancestors, and, so long as you need a guardian, preserve your life and character from ruin ; when mature age has strengthened your body and soul, then you will swim without corks."

The time for him to swim without corks, if we may borrow his father's homely illustration, came when he left school at Rome and went alone to finish his education in the philosophical schools at Athens. How his father managed, out of his probably scanty earnings, to defray the cost of his son's liberal education at Rome and Athens, we do not know. He had evidently nobody else in the world to care for, but his one beloved son, and thought no sacrifice too great in his determination to secure his future. Many similar instances of self-sacrifice for the education of their children could be found among Indian parents. It is pleasing to find that Horace, to the end of life, never forgot his debt of gratitude. Had Horace been a snob, he would have tried to make his noble friends in after life forget the fact that he was sprung from an almost servile origin. Horace, however, was no snob. When his detractors cast in his teeth the fact that his father had been a slave, he replied in a proper spirit to the taunt :

"So long as I have my senses, I trust I never shall be sorry of having had such a father ; and may I never defend myself as so many do, who say it is no fault of theirs, that their parents were not freeborn and illustrious. Utterly different is my language and my sentiments from theirs : indeed, if nature bid us resume the journey of life from a certain year, and choose such parents as each would prefer to suit his ambitious longings, I should be content with mine, and unwilling to select those distinguished by the fasces and chairs of office."—*Lonsdale & Lee's Translation.*

It is a pleasure to dwell upon the relations that existed between Horace and his excellent father for more reasons than one. In the first place history is so full of the sayings and doings of great men, that it is a relief to get by accident some details about a man of ordinary abilities. In the second place Horace's father is a model of what the parents of great men ought to be. Had he not, like the fathers of Milton and Pope, had sufficient shrewdness to recognise some specially bright sparks of intelligence in his son, and had he not had that fatherly affection and spirit of self-sacrifice necessary to nurse them into flame, Horace might have lived and died unknown in Venusia, instead of writing works to be the delight of future

generations to the end of the world. Most of us see too clearly that we can never ourselves become great men ; but it is always possible that we may become so vicariously in the persons of our children. It is therefore incumbent on all parents to remember that their children may turn out to have the genius to do great good and harm to future generations, and, in doing their duty to their children, they may be guided and inspired with hope by the example of an old Venusian farmer and collector of auction money who began life as a slave.

When Horace was studying philosophy and dabbling in Greek verses in Athens, a great event happened. It was then that the assassination of Julius Caesar took place, and the civil war that ensued soon engulfed the young student in its vortex. Brutus, the leader of the regicides, came to Athens ; and both his philosophical renown, celebrated in Cicero's dialogues, and his political views commended him to the young aristocrats studying there. Horace also took up the Republican cause with the enthusiasm of youth, and, in spite of his low birth, was appointed to the high office of military tribune in the army of Brutus, from which we may conclude that his intellectual powers had given him a position of authority and influence among his fellow students. He fought and fled at the great battle of Philippi, which overthrew the Republican party. He himself says that he threw away his shield; but this is perhaps not to be taken quite literally. The Greek poet, Archilochus, had long before described in verse how he threw away his shield, and Horace perhaps used this expression to assimilate his fortunes as closely as possible to those of his poetical predecessor. When he returned to Italy, the farm to which he had succeeded on his father's death had been confiscated, like Virgil's, and assigned to veterans belonging to the victorious faction. He was then reduced in circumstances, and, as he himself tells us, bold poverty impelled him to write verses. How before the days of printing and copyright anyone could support himself by writing verses, which could be copied *ad libitum* by the clerks of any rich man, is a puzzling question which has not been satisfactorily settled. The pursuit of literature without the support of a patron seems at any rate to have been an unsatisfactory mode of earning a livelihood, from which Horace was presently rescued by the good offices of his friends. Virgil and Varius recognised the power displayed in the violent satires which mark the first period of his literary career, and introduced him to Maecenas, the great minister of Augustus, whose name has become so famous in connection with Horace and Virgil, that to this day any rich and munificent patron is called a Maecenas. Horace tells us how, when he was brought into the great man's presence, he was so nervous that

he could speak only a few words spasmodically. However, the interview had the desired effect. Horace was admitted to the favour and friendship, first of Maecenas, and then of Augustus. The former gave him a farm among the Sabine hills, which not only secured him against the fear of want, but also provided him a picturesque retreat whenever he was tired of the bustle of Rome or oppressed by its heat.

Henceforward Horace was definitely enrolled among the Augustan poets, whose chief duty was to celebrate the glories of Augustus and the new Empire he had established on the ruins of the old Republic. A strange position it must have been for the man who had a short time ago been selected by Brutus, the tyrannicide, to command a legion in the battle of Philippi. It was an old story often to be repeated in the world's history. No doubt the irreconcilables that still remained among his old associates spoke of him in the spirit, if not in the words, of Browning's *Lost Leader* :—

"Just for a handful of silver he left us,  
Just for a riband to stick in his coat,  
Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us,  
Lost all the others she lets us devote.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
We shall march prospering—not thro' his presence ;  
Songs may inspirit us,—not from his lyre ;  
Deeds will be done—while he boasts his quiescence,  
Still bidding crouch whom the rest bade aspire."

His case is very similar to Dryden's conversion to Roman Catholicism in the reign of James II. But we must not judge either of them very harshly. It is not impossible that a political or religious conversion may be sincere, although it happens to coincide with the material interests of the person converted. After mature reflection Horace may have come to the conclusion that the old Republic was no longer possible, and that the rule of Augustus, which promoted the peace and prosperity of the civilised world, long distracted by civil wars, was the best form of Government that could be reasonably hoped for. Horace was certainly far from being a servile dependent in either his actions or his writings. Although the favoured poet of the Augustan Court, he no less than three times mentions with high honour the name of Cato, who refused to yield to Caesar's power when all the rest of the world lay prostrate at his feet. So far from going out of his way to seek the favour of the Emperor, he appears for a long time to have received his advances coldly, so that, in a fragment of a letter preserved by Suetonius, Augustus reproaches him as follows : "Know that I am angry with you, because in most of your writings you do not choose to hold converse with me. Can you be afraid that your seeming to be intimate with me will

discredit your name with future ages?" and again he writes: "If you are so haughty as to scorn my friendship, I am not on that account disdainful in return." Horace refused to leave Maecenas to become the Private Secretary of Augustus. With Maecenas he was on the most familiar terms of equal friendship. When Maecenas was discontented at his long absence, Horace, in one of his poetical epistles, with admirable urbanity, insisted upon his right to control his own movements, and plainly intimated that he was ready to give up everything, even his Sabine farm, rather than sacrifice his independence. Such were the terms on which the famous friendship between Horace and Maecenas was maintained. There can be no doubt of its being a sincere friendship, based on deep mutual affection. So great was the affection of Maecenas for Horace that, at the hour of his death, his last words to Augustus were: "Be mindful of Horace, as you would be of myself." Horace did not long survive his friend and patron. In one of his odes he had declared that he would not live long after the death of Maecenas, and the prophecy was fulfilled. Horace died within a month of the date of that event, at the age of 57, in the year 8 B. C., and was buried close by his tomb on the Esquiline Hill.

Horace is as communicative about his personal appearance and character as about the chief events of his life. In his youth, he tells us, he was strong in body, and his black hair clustered thick above his forehead. As he grew older, he became prematurely grey, and so corpulent that Augustus compared his short round figure to a full-bellied drinking vessel. His eyes became weak, and his health often required change of air and medical attention. As to his character, besides the general impression that we draw from his writings, he directly tells us that he was hot-tempered, but that his anger was not implacable.

There has been much discussion among the learned as to the chronological order of Horace's poems. The general results of these investigations are roughly as follows. In the beginning of his literary career he composed satires; in the middle, between the age of thirty and forty, lyric poems; and then, towards the end of his life, he reverted once more to didactic poetry, in the form of epistles. Thus his poetry divides itself easily into two classes, lyric and didactic.

Although his lyric poems were written when his intellectual powers were at the highest pitch of vigour and maturity, and before advancing years had begun to affect the power of his imagination, and although it is on them that he based his proud boast that he had built for himself in his verse a monument more lasting than brass and higher than the royal pile



of the pyramids, I nevertheless do not propose to dwell upon them now. They are far from being destitute of imagination, or high feeling, or the other characteristics of the best lyric poetry ; but nevertheless the fact remains that their chief excellence is in form rather than in matter, in the exquisite versification and skilful manipulation of words rather than in weighty thought or original ideas. Thus it is that Horace has always been the most untranslatable of poets, and will remain so in spite of Gladstone's brave attempt to communicate his charm to English readers. Such being the case, I should be merely wasting time if I were to try to give those who cannot read him in the original an idea of Horace's lyric art, by quoting translations in prose or verse. We may, therefore, confine our attention to Horace's Satires and Epistles, the interest of which is more capable of being communicated to Indian readers, as it lies much more in the matter than in the form.

The Romans, while admitting their imitation of Greek models in other branches of literature, make satire an exception. "Satire," says Quintilian, the great Roman literary critic, "is all our own." This claim to originality is sufficiently well founded. Absolute originality is no doubt a chimera in this, as in everything else. Not only in Greek, but also in Hebrew, and I suppose also in Sanskrit literature, satiric touches are to be found in every species of composition. The censorious spirit is such a strong element in human nature that it finds expression here and there in all branches of literature. The comedies of Aristophanes are full of the most violent and pungent satire expressed in a dramatic form. All that the Roman claim really amounts to is this, that they constituted a definite species of poetry, the main object of which was to lash the vices and ridicule the follies of mankind, and so point the way to a better life. It was, however, a considerable time before the Latin word satire got any such definite meaning. Some of the poems of Ennius were grouped together under the title of Satires ; but the term as applied to his poems merely meant a miscellaneous collection of poems on all kinds of subjects. The first satirist in the modern sense of the word was Lucilius, who lived from 148 to 103 B. C., but even in his fragments we find traces of the composite character of the satires of Ennius. One of his so-called Satires was an account of a journey ; another was an epistle to a friend ; a third was devoted to questions of grammar and orthography. But in the main they were real satires in the modern sense of the word, that is, poems devoted to the exposure and punishment of vice and folly. Horace, as a satirist, in most respects followed the lead of Lucilius, from whom he differed chiefly in the greater care he devoted to the

art of composition. Horace says that Lucilius "would trust his secrets to his books as to faithful companions; let things turn out ill or well, to them he had recourse; so that all the life of the old poet is open to our view, as though painted on a votive tablet," and the same might be said with equal truth of Horace. Lucilius' journey to Sicily is the model on which Horace composed his account of his own journey to Brundisium. The poetical epistles in which Horace expressed the mature reflections of his declining years were probably suggested by one of the satires of Lucilius, which is couched in the form of a letter to a friend. It is probable that, if the lost satires of Lucilius were recovered, we should find that Horace borrowed from him about as much as Virgil borrowed from Homer. There was, however, of course, no attempt at secrecy in the matter. The satires of Lucilius were familiarly known to every educated Roman, and Horace openly professes himself a follower of the older poet.

Horace's Satires and Epistles were written at different periods of life, separated by the period of his prime, which he devoted to Lyric poetry; but they may be conveniently treated together. Although he distinguishes them by the different titles of Satires and Epistles, he sometimes groups them together as *sermones*, discourses in metre, unworthy of the name of poetry, and therefore very different from his real poems, his Lyric odes. Both the Satires and the Epistles are in the main didactic, and give Horace's opinions on things in general; on civic Rome, on rural Italy, on his associates, his enemies, and himself. The Horace of the Epistles is the same man as the Horace of the Satires, though advancing years, to him, as to Thackeray, whom he resembles in many respects, gave mellowed and gentler and less acrimonious views of life.

Perhaps the most interesting feature in these Horatian discourses is the vivid picture they give of the familiar life of the great city in which the poet lived. Historians tell us of the foreign and civil wars, and treaties, and political changes that Rome underwent, but with Horace as our guide, we can, in imagination, walk the streets of Rome and study with contemplative eye the interests and pursuits of her citizens from sunrise to sunset.

Let us start on a stroll with our poet through Rome in the early morning, and see what is to be seen. The great city is awakening. The shopkeepers are opening their shops, and the carts are groaning through the streets, bringing in the country produce with which they are laden. Our guide is rather sleepy at first. He has been up long before daybreak, reading hard by candle-light, as is his custom. We are impressed by the sight of a dash-

ing huntsman hurrying through the street with a large company of followers and a great display of all the paraphernalia of hunting. Horace knows him well. He is a mere sham hunter, who will return in the evening in triumph with a fine boar, but it will be one that he has bought on the sly in the public market! Crowds of school-boys are strolling like snails unwillingly to school, with their satchels slung to their left sides, and Horace thinks of the days long ago when, accompanied by his father, he went to attend the classes of the stern Orbilius, whose propensity for flogging has won him an unenviable immortality in the verses of his pupil. Quicker is the step of the clients who are hurrying off to pay the early morning visit, the neglect of which duty would be regarded as a grave offence by their haughty patrons. The distances at Rome are very long, and the client who has unfortunately to visit two patrons, one on the Quirinal and another on the Aventine Hill, has a good deal of pedestrian exercise before him. Some of these early visitors carry with them cakes and fruit with which they hope to buy the affections of childless old men, and so win a place in their wills. The streets soon get crowded, and progression is about as difficult as it is in Abdul Rahman Street, Bombay, or in the Bara Bazaar, Calcutta. Nor is the traffic so regulated as to be free from danger to life and limb. The bustling contractor hurries along with his mules and porters. A great crane hoists at one moment a stone, at another a huge beam, either of which may fall on the head of the passer-by. Melancholy funerals have to contend for a passage with strong waggons, and the foot-passenger has to keep out of the way of both. If India's loose buffaloes and sacred cows are absent, their place is supplied by mad dogs and filthy pigs running amuck through the streets. Bravest in facing all these risks and discomforts is the candidate for office, who has to ingratiate himself by hook or by crook with the common people in order to secure their votes. The troublesome electors like to be recognised and addressed by their proper names. So the candidate is accompanied by a slave called a nomenclator, whose special duty it is to whisper to his master the names of all the voters they meet, and secretly nudge him in the side, when they come near any particularly influential member of the tribes. Such a one has to be shaken warmly by the hand, even across a train of intervening carts, and must be cordially adopted as father, if he is an elderly man, or otherwise as brother. A group of noisy boys is surrounding a plainly dressed man with a long beard. They are trying slyly to pluck his beard, and he is rushing after them with his stick, and, in the violence of his anger, hurling at them language surely unbecoming, as proceeding from the lips of the mightiest of mighty monarchs.

For such he is in his own estimation, being a Stoic philosopher, and therefore not only an excellent shoemaker, carpenter, singer, and musician, but also, *in posse* if not *in esse*, a great king, theoretically over everything, practically, however, not the master of his temper in such trying circumstances as those to which he is now exposed. Amid such scenes as these, the morning passes away, and the heat of the midday sun makes it advisable to go home and take a siesta.

In the afternoon we discuss the conflicting attractions of the various amusements that the great city has to present for us. Shall we go to the gladiatorial shows, or the pantomime, or the Campus Martius, or shall we attend the recitations of one of the many poets who are trying to win the popular ear? It is no good trying to do everything at once, so we decide to favour the theatre with our patronage. The audience is a large and noisy crowd in which the vulgar spectators have it all their own way. An actor appears on the stage, the boards of which are sprinkled with saffron. The crowd greet him with clapping of hands. What has he said to elicit such loud applause? Nothing. That which pleases them is his rich robe of Tyrian purple and the ornaments of foreign manufacture with which he is profusely decorated. In fact, we soon find that, among the Romans of the Augustan age, the theatre is intended much more to gratify the eye than the mind.

London theatres to-day go to great extremes in their exhibitions of the decorative art and spectacular effects; but they are as nothing to the Roman imperial stage. For four mortal hours, if Horace will allow us to sit so long, we see the stage traversed by moving shows. A city is supposed to have been captured, and crowned kings with their hands tied behind the back, works of art in silver and ivory, litters, chariots, bands of foot-soldiers, squadrons of horse, and ships, cross the stage in long procession. The climax is reached when a giraffe and a white elephant are led before the eyes of the gaping audience. Then the uproar is tremendous and the hubbub of tumultuous applause is absolutely deafening. When we express our surprise at the character of the entertainment, our genial host tells us that, a few days ago, he was present when an attempt was made to put on the stage a rational drama. The audience would not stand it, and broke out into loud clamours, demanding that the Manager should immediately produce upon the stage a bear, or a pair of pugilists. When the knights and other respectable members of the audience wished to give the play a fair hearing, the noisy crowd were ready to decide the question in debate by fisticuffs; so they had to be given their way.

When we leave the theatre, the sun is low in the heaven. In the cool of the lengthening shadows we stroll through the

market, pricing cabbages and joining knots of people round some amusing pretender to prophetic inspiration. This is how Horace delights in spending his time before and after sunset. If he is not dining with Mæcenas, he will, perhaps, ask us to join him at his frugal meal, where he will entertain us with such a bright succession of anecdotes, that it will be long before we have any inclination to go to bed. The other guests are one or two of the poet's trusty friends. Thackeray says somewhere: "I hate a man who goes and eats a friend's meat and then blabs the secrets of his mahogany." In like manner Horace promises us that we shall meet among his guests no one base enough to divulge abroad the confidences elicited by his good old Sabine wine, which reveals the secrets of the reserved, gives eloquence to the taciturn, courage to the timid, and drives away for a time the cares of life from the weary mind.

As a moralist, Horace seems to resemble Thackeray more than he resembles any other ancient or modern writer. Exact resemblance, however, cannot be expected to exist between any two men of genius. There are, in spite of the general resemblance, striking points of difference between the genius of Thackeray and that of Horace, which are certainly not to the advantage of the Roman. Thackeray has continually before his mind's eye a far higher ideal of virtue than Horace ever knew, and his soul burns with a far fiercer indignation against wrong and a far intenser sympathy with human suffering. A still more striking contrast is to be seen in their attitude towards the female sex. Thackeray is inspired with a holy reverence for good women. He distinctly tells us that men never attain to the deep affection and self-sacrifice of which their wives and daughters are capable. His Lady Castlewood is, perhaps, the finest idealisation of the female sex to be found in the whole range of literature, although the character is saved from unreality by the presence of a few characteristic feminine foibles. Let us now turn to Horace, and ask what is his ideal of womanly excellence. The answer is a strange blank. We read through his Odes, and his Epodes, and his Satires and his Epistles, and we find that not in a single passage does he mention with true respect or honour any woman, real or imaginary. This defect is not to be attributed to the time in which he lived. In Octavia, the sister of Augustus, the age had as conspicuous an instance of womanly virtue as any poet might wish to celebrate.

Nevertheless, while admitting these striking points of contrast, it may well be maintained that there is much general resemblance between the moral teaching of Horace and of Thackeray. Both of them were men moving in the best society

of great capitals. One of the chief characteristics of the polite social circles they frequented was a cultivated urbanity, which appears in an unwillingness to give offence, or hurt the feelings unnecessarily, and in the careful avoidance of any approach to ill-bred arrogance. The position of moral censor is naturally an invidious one. We are all disposed to be offended with anyone who puts himself as it were on a higher pedestal and censures our vices and follies, and this feeling is often so strong that it prevents us from listening to the most excellent moral lessons. Both Horace and Thackeray display admirable tact in escaping this rebellious feeling on the part of their readers, which often mars the effect produced by the wisest sermons. The chief method they employ to win the hearts of their readers is the same. It is this. They both identify themselves to a large extent with those whom they are instructing and attribute to themselves a large share of the folly they are rebuking. Thus Thackeray, in his *Snob Papers*, writes under the name of Mr. Snob, as an indication that he did not profess himself to be entirely free from the fault he was satirising. "Do I wish," he exclaims, "all Snobs to perish? Suicidal fool, art not thou too a Snob and a brother?" As another example of this practice, which permeates all Thackeray's moral reflections, may be quoted the following passage out of the *Round About Papers* :—

"We somehow greedily gobble down all stories in which the characters of friends are chopped up, and believe wrong of them without enquiry. In a late serial work written by this hand, I remember making some pathetic remarks about our propensity to believe ill of our neighbours—and I remember the remarks, not because they were valuable or novel or ingenious, but because, within three days after they had appeared in print, the moralist who wrote them, walking home with a friend, heard a story about another friend, which story he straightway believed, and which story was scarcely more true than that sausage fable which is here set down. O mea culpa, mea maxima culpa! But though the preacher trips, shall not the doctrine be good? Yea, brethren! Here be the rods. Look you, here are the scourges. Choose me a nice long, swishing, buddy one, light and well poised in the handle, thick and bushy at the tail. Pick me out a whiplash thong with some dainty knots in it—and now—we all deserve it—whish, whish, whish! Let us cut into each other all round."

In like manner Horace, in ridiculing Roman follies, continually uses the first person plural. He is much more inclined to say, "*we* commit such follies," than "*you* commit such follies," or "men generally commit such follies."

Another point of resemblance between Horace and Thackeray is their fondness for the drunken Helot method of moral teaching. Everybody knows how the ancient Spartans warned their young men against the evils of strong drink by exhibiting to them the degrading spectacle of a Helot made drunk for the

purpose of affording them a moral lesson. Thus Thackeray, after drawing the picture of Captain Bull, remarks that "perhaps the only good action he ever did in his life is the involuntary one of giving an example to be avoided, and showing what an odious thing in the social picture is that figure of the debauched old man who passes through life rather a *decorous Silenus*, and dies some day in his garret alone, unrepenting, unnoted." This was the kind of moral teaching that Horace's father had used in instructing his son by word of mouth, and that Horace followed in his literary works, and continued to apply to himself as a species of moral discipline in his efforts to rise to a higher life. "Through this education," he tells us,—

"I am sound from all ruinous vices, though I am troubled with moderate and pardonable failings; perhaps, too, a large deduction even from these has been made by advancing years, free-spoken friends, my own reflections;—for I am not wanting to myself, whenever my little couch or arcade receives me. 'This,' I think 'would be more correct; acting so, I shall do better: so will my friends find me pleasant. A certain one in this did not so well: am I to be so heedless as to behave like him?'"—*Lonsdale & Lee's Translation.*

Let me quote one or two out of many instances of this tendency. In his third Satire Horace is preaching indulgence in our judgment of our friends. Just as parents minimise the defects of their children, and say that a child with a squint has a slight cast in his eye, so we ought to extenuate the faults of our friend. But, he goes on, we do the very opposite :—

"We invert even virtues, and, when a vessel is pure, desire to smear it. There lives amongst us an honest soul; 'Ah,' say we, 'a poor creature: ' to the cautious man we give the name of dull. Another avoids every snare set for him, and never exposes himself to attack, as he lives in the present age, where keen envy and calumnies are so rife; he is a sober-minded, careful man, but we call him false and sly. Or is there one of character too undisguised (just as I at times have thrust myself on you, Mæcenas), one who, when his friend is reading or meditating, interrupts and annoys him with trifling talk; then we say: "Plainly this man has no common tact."

Alas, how ready we are to sanction a law that presses hard on ourselves! For no man by nature is faultless; the best man is he whose soul is troubled with fewest faults. A pleasant friend, as is but fair, will balance my faults by my good qualities, and incline the weight of his judgment to the latter, if they be more numerous, in case he desires my love."—*Lonsdale & Lee's Translation.*

Again, in the epistles, when laughing at the passion for scribbling in his time, he uses the first person and includes himself among the offenders. "Now," he writes,—

"All glow with one poetic passion; boys and grave fathers alike crown their locks with chaplets at their banquets, and dictate verses. I, who declare I am no poet, am found to tell more lies than the

Patthians, and, before sun-rise, wake and call for pen, and paper, and writing case. He who was never on board, fears to steer a ship; none but a professional man dares to prescribe southernwood for a patient, physicians undertake a physician's duty; artizans alone handle tools: but, learned and unlearned, we scribble verses, all alike."—*Lonsdale & Lee's Translation.*

Horace's satires and epistles are full of sketches of characters the imitation of which is to be avoided by himself and his friends, such as the scurrilous buffoon, the malignant back-biter, the glutton, the vulgar parvenu, the avaricious miser, and the reckless spendthrift. Although both Thackeray and Horace—Horace more rarely—, on occasion, work themselves into fiery indignation, both of them are more ready to laugh at the follies, than to lash the vices, of mankind. This is the acknowledged principle of Horace, who asks—

Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?

What prevents one from telling home truths with smile?

It is almost impossible to resent the good-natured censure of the witty moralist who puts himself on a level with ourselves and gilds the pill of satire with so much wit and geniality. Persius, a later Roman satirist, well expresses this characteristic of Horatian satire, when he draws a contrast between Horace and Lucilius, as follows:—

"Lucilius scourged the city—You, Lupus, you, Mucius,—and broke his grinders on them, while Horace *admissus circa prae-cordia ludit*, plays round the heart into which he has gained an entry."

The last point of resemblance to be noticed between Thackeray and Horace is the conversational style in which they convey their instruction. Horace's Satires and Epistles have the wit and humour and variety of the finest well-bred conversation. There is no striving after effect; but lively anecdote, wit and humour, irony and earnestness succeed each other in quick succession. We must conclude by remarking again that, in moral elevation, the Latin poet is far below the English novelist. Sometimes he rises to a tolerably high level, as when he extols the virtue of patriotism, or the duties of friend to friend, or sketches the ideal poet as one who "forms the tender lisping mouth of the child; even in their early days turns the ears of the young from evil words; fashions the heart by kindly precepts correcting roughness, malice, and anger; tells of virtuous deeds, and furnishes the rising generations with illustrious examples, comforts the helpless and sad of soul."

Well would it have been for him and for other great poets if they had constantly acted up to this lofty ideal. As a rule, Horace does not express such high sentiments. His great guide in life is the doctrine of the golden mean.



If he ever transgresses that doctrine, he does so in the excessive adherence that he pays to it, by applying it in circumstances to which it is inapplicable. The wise man, he tells us, deserves the name of a fool if he exceeds moderation in pursuit of virtue itself. After inculcating moral precepts on a young friend, he ends by telling him :—"If you lag behind or vigorously outpace me, I neither wait for him that is slow of foot, nor strive to overtake those who go before me." His morality was, after all, the kind of cultivated selfishness, that makes a man a pleasant man of the world and a favourite in Society. He does not rise much above the moral atmosphere by which he was surrounded. Such genial, self-satisfied souls as his are not the stuff of which great social reformers are made. If we want the noblest moral teaching, we must not go to Horace, but to Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, or Carlyle, or to the great religious teachers of the world. Nevertheless such men as Horace play a not unimportant moral function for mankind. If they do not inspire men to the noblest self-sacrifice, the idealised common sense that they inculcate commends itself to average men of the world who are unsusceptible to higher inspiration, but will listen, perhaps, to the words of instruction proceeding from moral teachers who are men of the world like themselves, especially when the instruction is conveyed with the tact, friendliness, good nature and wit that characterise the didactic writings of Horace.

MICHAEL MACMILLAN.

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#### ART. V.—INDIAN BAMBOOS.

Annals of the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta, Vol. VII.—

The *Bambuseæ* of British India. By J. S. Gamble, M. A., F. L. S., Conservator of Forests, School Circle, and Director of the Imperial Forest School, Dehra Dûn. Calcutta; printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press, 1896.

The Bamboo Garden. By A. B. Freeman Mitford, C. B., London: Macmillan & Co., Limited.

THE Botanic Garden, at Sibpur, near Calcutta, has a world-wide fame, and many famous botanists have in their turn held charge of it; but the thousands of Calcutta holiday-makers, whom the liberality of the Bengal Government allows to roam about and picnic in its beautiful shades, know as little of the true meaning of its existence, or of the amount of good scientific work carried on within its precincts, as do the Londoners and country visitors who in fine weather resort in crowds to the Royal Gardens at Kew. Horticulture and Arboriculture are probably considered by them to be the be-all and end-all of both places. The offices and herbarium buildings are not in evidence, and have to be sought for by those who wish to study in them; though students are in both Gardens made very welcome, and helpfully shown where to find what they want. At Calcutta, as well as at other botanical establishments in India, the officers in charge were, until a comparatively recent date, still designated merely Superintendents of the Gardens, and this no doubt helped to foster the popular impression: but since the institution of a new Department of the Government of India, to which was given the care of botanical operations, as well as of the Land Revenue, Agricultural Statistics and Experiments, and various other branches of public work and expenditure, a more rational view has been taken of the position of these officers, as well as of the importance of their work. A systematic botanical survey of British India was undertaken, and a botanical department was constituted, the Superintendents of the various gardens being appointed Directors of it for certain territories. The senior of them, Dr. George King, the Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta, and Superintendent of the Cinchona Plantations in British Sikkim, became the Director of the department, with immediate charge of Bengal, Assam, Burma, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and North-Eastern Frontier expeditions; and he annually submits to the Government of India a report of the operations of the whole department. As there is also at the Calcutta Garden another

highly qualified botanist, Dr. Prain, as curator of the Herbarium, the Bengal Government left the charge of the garden and the *Cinchona* operations—there being a botanical assistant for these also—in Dr. King's hands: but in the North-Western Provinces there is only one botanist, Mr. J. F. Duthie, and the local Government relieved him of the horticultural part of his work, and he is now simply Director of the Botanical Department, Northern India, with his head-quarters in the Garden at Saharanpur, and his office and laboratory in the Herbarium there. Mr. Duthie's charge in the survey comprises the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Central India, Rajputana, and North-Western Frontier expeditions. There are also two other charges—South India and West India.

Administration reports are, of course, annually submitted by the Superintendents of the Botanic Gardens, and these and the reports of the Director of the Department are printed and become obtainable by the public, and receive some notice in the daily newspaper press; but it is the results of the work which they record that are of value, and the reports cannot be considered in the light of additions to botanical literature. Papers recording the results of scientific research carried on by the officers who have charge of the gardens and herbariums in the midst of the daily press of their administrative duties, and during their hard-earned periods of short leave and furlough, appear from time to time in the Transactions and Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Natural History Society of Bombay, and in the Annals of the Indian Medical Service (which has contained many good botanists), while others are published by the Linnean and other scientific societies of the United Kingdom, and in various independent periodicals published there. But it is only recently that an Indian Government has recognised it to be a duty to resume the practice that existed in the time of the East India Company, and to publish in a separate form the results of the researches of individual botanists who are in its service.

"THE ANNALS OF THE ROYAL BOTANIC GARDEN CALCUTTA," seven volumes of which have now been published, is an undertaking which is being carried out in a style worthy of the institution whose work it records, and which also reflects great credit on the Bengal Government and on the Press from which it issues. The proportion of plates to letter-press is very liberal; and this adds to the attractiveness of the papers, while it enables them to be more easily and quickly read. The execution and reproduction by lithography of the drawings leaves little to be desired; and it is, perhaps, only because of the comparative cheapness of the work of native

artists and lithographers that this sumptuousness of illustration is possible. Minute and careful instruction by the writers of the papers is of course necessary, for such draughtsmen are made (in the Government Schools of Art), and are not born botanists. The Calcutta Annals have already treated of several orders and genera of plants which are of great economic importance. The Superintendent of the Garden, Dr. King, led off, in the first volume, with "The Species of *Ficus* of the Indo-Malayan and Chinese countries;" and in an appendix to that paper he described some new species from New Guinea. It is only necessary to mention to the lay reader *Ficus carica*, Willd., the edible fig, and *Ficus elastica*, Roxb., a principal source of supply of India rubber, to indicate the importance of this genus. Volume 2 consisted of papers on certain genera of timber trees: Volumes 3 and 4 contained papers on some orders and genera, species of which yield timber, edible fruits, and spices—two of them being by Mr. D. Prain, the Curator of the Herbarium; and Volume 5 contains, as Part I, a Century of Indian Orchids, by Sir Joseph Hooker, and, as Part II, a Century of New and Rare Indian Plants, by P. Bruhl and Dr. King. The publication is, it will be seen, not restricted to producing the papers of the Calcutta or other Indian officials, but is made available for other botanists who have utilised the material accumulated in the splendid Calcutta Herbarium.

The subject of Volume 7 of the Calcutta Annals—"THE BAMPUSEÆ OF BRITISH INDIA," is of an importance second, perhaps, to none which could have been selected; and there is probably, no British botanist who could have done such full justice to it. Mr. Gamble, as a forest officer of great experience in various parts of India, is of necessity familiar with bamboos, and knows what an important part of forest produce they are, and how necessary it is that forest officers should be able to distinguish between the various genera and species; and, owing to the peculiarity they have of generally not flowering until the final year of the life of the clumps, the difficulty of so distinguishing, or determining the species, is much greater than in the case of plants and trees whose flowering generally is an annual and not a final function. Mr. Gamble seems to have been studying bamboos for nearly a quarter of a century, and in the most practical way possible. Soon after he began his career as a forest officer, after undergoing a thorough training in the Forest School at Nancy, in France, his attention was very forcibly drawn to the difficulties which existed in recognising in the forests, and especially in the great evergreen forests, the trees which were met with, and among them the various species of bamboo. The leaves of

bamboos, especially of the bigger species, have such a very similar appearance that, whether in the forest or from herbarium specimens, it is most difficult to say to which species any given example belongs. In individual clumps, too, the leaves may vary greatly in size and shape, Mr. Gamble says, according to the part they are taken from, so that one cannot always be sure of identification.

"In this way," he says, "I was led to examine closely, in the part of the country in which I was at work from 1872 onwards, such clumps as I met with, in order to see if I could not discover some better characters for certain identification which could be used by the forest staff. In 1872 I had made the acquaintance of the late Mr. Sulpiz Kurz, Curator of the Herbarium of the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta, and found that he, too, was greatly interested in the same subject, and was actually engaged in preparing an account of the Indian and Malay species, paying special attention to those characters which were likely to help the forest officers of Burma (in whose behalf he was engaged on his well-known and excellent "Forest Flora") to enable them to distinguish between the many important kinds they came across daily. Mr. Kurz's work on the bamboos began with the publication, in January 1867, in Vol. I. of the then newly established magazine, 'The Indian Forester,' of a paper on 'Bamboo and its use,' which admirable article is still probably the best general treatise on the subject; and was followed in April of the same year by an account of the species known to him to be found in the Indian Archipelago and Malaya, and which he had carefully studied in the Botanic Garden at Buitenzorg in Java. Mr. Kurz's intention had been to give next an account of the Indian specimens, but his sad death at Penang in December 1877 prevented this, though the materials he had collected, consisting of herbarium specimens, drawings, notes and dissections, were left available, and have been fully utilised in the present work. So far as the Burmese species were concerned, his 'Forest Flora of British Burma' had supplied all that was known at that time, but the species of India proper still remained."

In 1887 Mr. Gamble was in England on furlough, and then took his own collections to Kew, in order to compare them with the bamboos in the Royal Herbarium, with the intention of putting together in a short paper some notes on the best means of recognising species.

"Some friends," he says, "and especially Dr. George King of the Calcutta Garden, had recommended me to do more, and their advice was so strongly repeated by Sir Joseph Hooker, K. C. S. I., the late, and Mr. W. H. Thistleton-Dyer, C. M. G., C. I. E., the present, Director of the Royal Gardens, Kew, that I was induced to try my best to carry out their wishes. The result is the present work, which Dr. George King has so kindly assisted me to publish in the *Annals of his great establishment.*"

Besides those in the Herbarium at Kew, the bamboos of several other similar institutions were freely placed at Mr. Gamble's disposal. Dr. King and Mr. Prain, besides giving the loan of those in the Calcutta Herbarium, gave him constantly advice and help. The Saharanpur collections were

placed at his disposal by Mr. Duthie; those of the Madras Central Museum were lent to him by Mr. E. Thurston, the Superintendent; and those of the Ootacamund Garden by Mr. M. A. Lawson, Director of the Botanical Department in Southern India. The late Dr. H. Trimen, F. R. S.,\* lent the collections and drawings belonging to the Royal Gardens at Peradeniya in Ceylon, and gave much additional information; and Mr. H. N. Ridley, the Director of the Singapore Garden, sent the collection belonging to it, and gave sets of his more recent discoveries in Perak, Penang, and Johore.

Mr. Gamble says that a reproach sometimes cast upon Indian Forest Officers, of apathy in the study of the botany of the countries in which they are employed, must, so far as bamboos are concerned, be emphatically pronounced to be undeserved; and he devotes a paragraph to acknowledging the signal assistance given him by many of his brother officers in Assam, Burma, Sikkim, Orissa, and the Bombay Presidency, and the Travancore State in the South of the Indian Peninsula,—notably Mr. Gustav Mann, the late Conservator of Forests in Assam, and Mr. J. W. Oliver, Conservator of the Eastern Circle of Upper Burma. In many parts of the Madras Presidency Mr. Gamble had personally collected and observed, while he was Conservator of Forests there. He thanks Mr. G. Gammie, of the Cinchona Plantations in British Sikkim, for sets of the bamboos from the Darjeeling hills, and Mr. C. B. Clarke, F. R. S., President (in 1896) of the Linnean Society, for valuable sets of his collections in Sikkim, the Khasia Hills, and Manipur. And, lastly, Sir Dietrich Brandis, K. C. I. E., late Inspector-General of Forests in India, is thanked for many valuable specimens, and for notes and advice.

With the help and co-operation of so many distinguished and practical botanists and forest officers, added to his own experience in the inspection and exploitation of bamboo forests in large tracts of India, and his twenty-five years' study of his subject in the field, and in the herbarium, Mr. Gamble has produced a book which must carry with it great weight and authority. Differences of opinion as to the specific distinctness of species will always exist among botanists; but as to the identity of most of the bamboos found in India and the Malayan Peninsula with some of the species described and figured in Mr. Gamble's book, or the differences from them of any new species which may be found in the future,

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\* Dr. Trimen died, in Ceylon, while Mr. Gamble's work was in the press, at the age of 53, after eighteen years' tenure of office there. An interesting account of his life and career as a botanist is to be found in the "Journal of Botany" for December 1896. His death was a great loss to science.

there ought not to be much doubt, always provided that it has been known to flower, or that specimens of the other parts of the plant are procurable which, in the absence of the inflorescence, are found to be sufficiently distinctive characters for its botanical determination. By the help of the 119 plates of drawings which are given in support of the descriptions of the 115 species any dabbler in botany, or an amateur even, ought to be able to arrive at an identification, while even a skilled botanist would find them of great use. A systematic botanical description of a plant, however carefully written, cannot be read and followed with the rapidity and certainty with which a skilled musician can read a musical composition on paper; and even a glance at a plate, although, as in the case of a tree or a bamboo clump, no picture of a whole plant, or even of a whole stem, can be given, may throw a flash of light across the description which will resolve doubts, and save much time in study.

Of the plates given in his work, Mr. Gamble says:—

“It is well to record that the main drawings have all been done by native artists under my supervision, and chief among these artists was Mahomed Idrees, a student of the Madras School of Art, who worked under my supervision in Madras during 1888 to 1890. The rest have been done by draughtsmen attached to the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta, or the Botanical Department, Saharanpur. Some of the plates, as noted in the description, are borrowed; but most of them are from actual specimens, and I have endeavoured to give, for each species, as far as possible—(1) the leaves and leaf sheath, (2) the culm-sheaths, (3) the flowers and inflorescence, (4) dissections of the various parts. These dissections are entirely my own work, and I hope, therefore, that I may be excused for their roughness in many instances. I regret that I found it impossible to draw the parts of these dissections fully to scale, and to indicate their relative size. It would have taken more time than I had available for the work.”

#### INDIAN BAMBOOS UP TO DATE.

“The tribe of the *Bambuseæ*,” says Mr. Gamble, “is a section of the great natural Order *Gramineæ*, the grasses, and is especially remarkable for containing those large tree-like members of the family which are so characteristic of the tropical regions of the globe, and so useful to man in the localities where they are found. From the earliest times, travellers have been struck with the beauty and importance of the members of the tribe. Ruprecht, in his Monograph, published in 1839, says that the first mention of bamboos occurs in the works of Ctesius, in the letter from Alexander the Great to Aristotle, and in the Natural History of Pliny.” After that there is a long blank until 1571, when Lobelius mentioned bamboos, and they are referred to by nine other writers of various dates, down to J. Burmann in 1737, although in most cases it is difficult to say what species are referred to.

The first writer on Indian Bamboos was Van Rheede, Governor-General of the Dutch Possessions in Malabar, who described and figured two kinds identified as *Bambusa arundinacea*, and *Ochlandra Rheedii*. Plukenet gave a third species; and in 1750 appeared the "*Herbarium Ambooiense*" of Rumphius, who divided the bamboos known to him into eight classes, and these classes again into seven kinds. the identification of which gave work to several botanists; but most of Rumphius's species belonged rather to the Malay Archipelago than to the Malayan Peninsula or British India, so Mr. Gamble does not spend much time on them. Linnæus in 1753 gave only one species, under the name of *Arundo Bambos*, but several species seem to have been referred to under that name, chiefly the common *Bambusa arundinacea*. In 1814, in the "*Hortus Bengalensis*," Dr. Roxburgh enumerated seven species, which he afterwards described in his "*Flora Indica*." Mr. Gamble admits and describes six of these. Ruprecht, in his monograph of 1839, already mentioned, described about 18 species from the Indo-Malayan region, which correspond to about 12 of those described by Mr. Gamble. "Then came, in 1866, the 'Monograph of the Bambusaceæ' by Colonel Munro, C. B., published in the transactions of the Linnean Society, Vol. XXVI (1870), which is the foundation of our modern knowledge of bamboos. In that work were published descriptions of Indo-Malayan species corresponding to about 70 of those herein given." Of these, 58 were fully known, and 12 partly known, while 3 were doubtful,—in all—73. "The '*Flora Sylvatica*,' of Madras, by Colonel R. H. Beddome, described 18 species as indigenous in Southern India, and of these 16 are admitted; while the '*Forest Flora of British Burma*,' by S. Kurz, which appeared in 1878, included 30 species of that country. In the present work 115 species are described, making a considerable addition to those known to Munro; but this number is by no means the end;" for there probably exist in Upper Burma, Tenasserim, and the Malay States, and even in South India also, species, which are suspected either by the collection of a few leaves or by report, and these will require to be described later on, as material for the purpose becomes available. Once before it had fallen to Mr. Gamble to enumerate, though not to describe botanically, the Bamboos of British India and Burma, so far as it was then British. In his "*Manual of Indian Timbers*," published in 1881, Mr. Gamble gave merely the genera and species described by Munro, adding species already described by other authors. The genera were grouped in 3 sections, *Triglosseæ*, *Bambuseæ*, and *Baccifera*; and there were 12 genera, of which 57 species were given.

The subdivision of the *Bambuseæ* into sections and genera



adopted by Mr. Gamble is that of the "Genera Plantarum" of Bentham and Hooker. Of the 22 genera given in that work, 14 belong to the Indo-Malayan region, the rest being chiefly American. Mr. Gamble describes (and names) only one new genus, *Thyrsoctachys*, which makes 15 Indo-Malayan genera in all. In Engler and Prantl's "Die Natürlichen Pflanzenfamilien" 23 genera are given, one more than in the "Genera Plantarum." The most recently published work on the genera is Baillon's "*Histoire des Plantes*," Volume XII, 1894, in which 28 genera are admitted.

The distribution of bamboos over the earth depends upon climate. They are found more or less in all tropical and semi-tropical regions, but especially in Asia and South America: in Europe there are none. In Australia there are (so the late Baron von Mueller, K. C. M. G., \* the Government botanist in Victoria, told Mr. Gamble, four species, one only of which has yet been described; and there is one in New Caledonia. In Africa there are species of *Oxytenanthera*, in Abyssinia and East Africa, a *Nastus* in the Mascarene Islands, and four new genera in West Africa, while South Africa has only one species. In America there are many species, but of genera distinct from those of Asia. The distribution of bamboos, it occurs to the present writer, seems to depend only secondarily on climate. Must it not primarily depend upon the nature of the tribe, which demands a certain amount of heat and moisture for the growth and full development of its representatives? Bamboos find these conditions in only certain parts of the world.

Mr. Gamble's descriptions have been drawn up, by the advice of Dr. King, as nearly as possible on a uniform system, giving, in regular order, the characteristics of the chief organs, which are—1) the CULMS or stems, (2) The RHIZOMES, or underground stems which throw up the culms (ought not the rhizomes to come first? (3) the CULM-SHEATHS, (4) the LEAVES, with their "leaf-sheaths" and ligules, (5) the INFLORESCENCE, and (6) the FRUIT, which usually resembles those of other sections of grasses, but sometimes has interesting and peculiar characters of its own. A few particulars taken from what Mr. Gamble says of the characteristics of the above-named organs of a bamboo plant will be found interesting.

The CULMS, or stems, of all bamboos are more or less cylindrical, hollow in the interior, and separated by partitions into joints. The partitions are called *nodes*, and the portions between them *internodes*. In none of the Indian species

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\* Baron Von Mueller died while Mr. Gamble's work was in the press.

is there anything like the variation from the cylindric form which is met with in the "square bamboo" of China, *Bambusa quadrangula* Fenzl, an article on which, by Mr. W. T. Thistleton-Dyer, was published in "Nature," August 1885. In some Indian species the cavities of the culms are almost, if not quite, absent, especially in the common "Male bamboo" (*Dendrocalamus strictus*), as regards a certain number of culms in each clump when growing in dry and poor soil; also in *Arundinaria Prainii*, a very thin, wiry, climbing species. The lower nodes of the culms of bamboos frequently bear root scars, or curved, stiff rootlets, surrounding them as a fringe, which sometimes develop and enter the ground. The nodes of some bamboos are furnished with a ring of more or less formidable spines, which seem to be arrested rootlets. Such spines are not of any great length, unless in the case of a species said to occur on the hills between Burma and Assam, with nodal spines between 4 and 6 inches long and very sharp, so that to penetrate the thickets must be a work of considerable danger even to wild animals accustomed to the jungles. In size, the culms of bamboos range from the gigantic culm of *Dendrocalamus giganteus*, which often reaches 100 to 120 feet in length, with a diameter of 8 to 10 inches, down to those of *Arundinaria densifolia*, which is hardly 3 feet at most, with a diameter of  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch. In some of the climbing species Mr. Gamble supposes the culms may frequently be longer than even those of the giant "Wabo"—the Burmese name for *D. giganteus*. The longest internodes are probably those of *Teinostachyum Helferi*, which run up to 52 inches. The joints (internodes) of several species (especially *Bambusa arundinacea*, often contain "tabasheer" (or tabachir), a silicious, whitish, floury substance, which has been much discussed from the very earliest times, and is considered in China and elsewhere to be a very valuable medicine. Kurz calls it a secretion, or probably a residuum, which Lindley says the plant is unable to incorporate in its tissues. Kurz says silica is contained in the wood of the bamboo in great quantity, and in one species so much that the wood gives off sparks when cut or struck with an axe. For further account of tabashir Mr. Gamble refers to various works.

The RHIZOMES of bamboos are of two kinds—(1) a short, knotty, thick, solid growth which forms an entangled network below (occasionally pushed up above) the surface of the soil, and which throws out buds developing into culms; and (2) a long, creeping, underground growth, sending out at intervals rootlets into the soil and buds from which the culms arise singly and separately. Most of the Indian

bamboos belong to the first section, and of this *Dendrocalamus strictus* (the 'male' bamboo) and *Bambusa arundinacea* (both already mentioned, may be taken as types.

"The most characteristic bamboo of the second section is *Melocanna bambusoides*, whose long rhizomes have the power of spreading so far and so quickly that vacant spaces in the hills where the bamboo occurs can be covered with the culms in an incredibly short space of time. The species of *Phyllostachys* seem all to have this habit of growth, and two of the newly described *Arundinarias*, *A. Jaunsarensis* and *A. Rollouina*, as also *A. racemosa*, are particularly remarkable for their power of spreading. The length of the rhizome of *A. Jaunsarensis* between the culms often reaches as much as 3 feet, and the rhizomes of this and of *A. racemosa* make good flexible riding canes. Bamboos with long rhizomes near the surface of the soil are very easy to propagate, for at the base of each sucker are buds which are capable of developing. In those with caespitose culms the rhizomes are much shorter, and the detachment of portions fit for propagation is not so easy, though it is quite feasible and usually successful if a portion of rhizome furnished with good buds and with the roots intact is removed."

The new culms usually develop with the beginning of the rainy season, and species found in more than one part of India send up their culms in the beginning of the chief local rainy season, though that may be separated by an interval of several months in the different localities. The growth of the culms is very rapid: in the case of *Dendrocalamus giganteus* it has been measured to be 25 feet 9 inches in 31 days, and of *Bambusa Balcooa* 12 feet in 23 days; while shoots of *B. Tulda*, according to Roxburgh, rise to their full size, of from twenty to seventy feet in height, in about thirty days. Even in Great Britain the bamboos of tropical countries grow very well under glass with artificial heat; but the comparatively low roofs of the conservatories sadly limit the upward growth of the culms; and the beauty of a clump as a whole cannot be seen in such a confined space as even the largest of them can afford. *Bambusa vulgaris* is said to have grown forty feet in forty days at Chatsworth, the seat of the Duke of Devonshire in Derbyshire; and that species and *Dendrocalamus giganteus* flourish in the Palm House at Kew. The present writer lately enjoyed the rarely granted privilege of visiting Syon House, the seat of the Duke of Northumberland, which is separated from Kew Gardens by the River Thames, and was told that the clump of bamboo which grows under the centre dome of the great conservatory there is of the *D. giganteus* species, and that the large culms have been known to grow twelve inches in twenty-four hours. A year ago this clump had so filled the centre dome that the large palms and other plants were being crowded out, and twenty-three large culms were cut down, and with difficulty cut up and got out of the way. Those now standing

and springing up seem to be six or seven inches in diameter. In such a situation—Mr. Wythes, the head gardener, said—the rate of growth depends greatly upon the weather; a spell of colder weather at once checks it, by causing a fall in the temperature of the ground outside, the chill being communicated to the limited area covered by the heated conservatory. There are at present no such large culms of *D. giganteus* at Kew, the largest being only about  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter.\*

The CULM-SHEATHS, which are seen covering the young culms as they emerge from the ground, and which, as the culms rise higher, are found to be attached round the nodes, are very interesting; for, says Mr. Gamble, they are almost always of shapes which are characteristic of the species to which they belong. In regard to this, Munro, writing in 1866, said—"The spathes, or large sheaths, which cover the nodes of all bamboos vary much in size and appearance, and will, I think, afford good characters when they are more studied and better known. Dr. Brandis has paid considerable attention to this subject; but these sheaths do not appear in general to have attracted the notice of collectors." Mr. Gamble says—"Kurz, too, held strongly the opinion that these culm-sheaths were very

\* In answer to a list of questions I sent to him, after my visit to Syon House, Mr. Wythes has very kindly given me the following information as to the clump of *Dendrocalamus giganteus* in the Conservatory there:—It was planted about 70 years ago, but whether from seed or offset, he cannot say. The height of the dome is 70 feet. The culms begin to start from the ground mostly in June or July, from the date when the house is first kept warm, if the weather is good. In favourable summer weather, they grow 60 feet in six weeks. Good culms reach the top of the dome in the first season, but remain branchless till the next spring, when they resume growing and throw out branches, which come into leaf in twelve months or more from first springing up. If culms spring up before June or after July, they fail to reach the top of the house, and often stop half way. The usual diameter of the culms varies, according to the age of the part of the rhizome from which they spring, from 4 to 7 inches; but a culm has been measured which was 9 inches in diameter and 28 inches in circumference. The average diameter now may be put at  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The culms have to be cut out every two years to prevent their pushing the roof off, so that the growth is hindered by the insufficient height of the building. Some culms, from 4 to 6 years old, cut out last year had walls averaging half-an-inch in thickness. The oldest culms now remaining are ten years old, owing, it is presumed, to the heavy thinning made to prevent their becoming unmanageable. These hot-house clumps present at the base an appearance very different from that due to the natural habit of the species, as shown in the pictures of the Peradeniya Gardens clumps, mentioned in a later part of this article, the culms being well apart instead of close set. Mr. Wythes says that *D. giganteus* at Syon House has never flowered: Mr. Gamble thinks this is, perhaps, owing to the plant never getting any slack season, as it would in the open in Burma, in which to accumulate the reserve material necessary for the production of flowers and seed.

important in classification, and his collection of drawings of culm-sheaths, deposited in the Herbarium of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Calcutta, has proved of great service to me. Thanks to the exertions of many friends and to the facilities for collection I have myself enjoyed, there are not many species herein described of which the sheaths are unknown; and a glance at the drawings of them, and still better at the herbarium sheets, will show that almost all have some definite characteristic which is sufficient, in the absence of the flowers, to identify the species." Culm sheaths have three parts,—*first*, the "sheath" proper, corresponding to the stalk of ordinary leaves; *second*, the "imperfect blade," corresponding to the blade of a leaf, and taking many forms and shapes; and, *third*, the "*ligule*," inserted, as in the leaves of all grasses, on the inner surface, at the junction of the sheath and blade. "There is, of course, in all parts, as Kurz has pointed out, a good deal of difference in size and shape, according as the sheath is taken from the base, the middle, or the top of a culm, or from a side branch; but a little study and experience soon teaches us to recognise the general characters. Almost the only cases I know of in which the culm-sheath fails to yield a distinguishing character are *Bambusa Tulda*, *B. nutans*, *B. teres*, and *Gigantochloa macrostachya*, in which four species the culm-sheaths are very similar in appearance."

The LEAVES of all bamboos are very similar in general appearance, for, although some species have usually large leaves and others quite small leaves, the size depends much upon what part of the plant they are taken from: so that, in respect to determination of species, little value can be attached to the size, shape, or even the nervature of bamboo leaves. Mr. Gamble goes minutely into the nervature; but that is too technical for these pages. The "leaf sheaths" and "ligules" at the base of each leaf below the petiole, or leaf-stalk, often give good characters for the identification of species.

"In regard to INFLORESCENCE, there is great variation among bamboos. Sometimes the spikelets appear on leafy branches, sometimes in gigantic panicles covering a whole culm. Sometimes the spikelets are very few and scanty, sometimes they are exceedingly numerous; sometimes they are distant on the branches of the inflorescence, sometimes congested into large rounded heads." In all parts of the flowers, there is considerable difference in the various species, and in the same genus great variation in the size, length, and number of flowers borne by a spikelet,—e.g., *Arundinaria callosa* may have spikelets two to three inches long, with six to twelve flowers; while in *A. densifolia* they reach barely half-an-inch in length and have only one flower. But Mr. Gamble mentions

certain parts of the flowers which have good characters for classification purposes. He says :—

"It is only in a few species of bamboo" (naming them) "that flowering takes place annually; in most cases flowering seasons come only at long intervals, and then the whole of the clumps of one species in a given locality flower gregariously and die down after flowering and giving seed. Even in those kinds which may be found occasionally in flower sporadically (e.g., *Dendrocalamus strictus* and *D. Hamiltonii*), general flowerings also take place, and at these the seed produced is usually good, while that given in the sporadic flowering is often poor and of small quantity. All the information which it has been possible to collect has been given under the various species concerned; but it may be here noted that the information is still incomplete, and many more observations will have to be made and recorded before we can begin to predict the flowering-times of most of the species. It is owing to the long period which elapses between flowerings that our knowledge of the flowers of bamboo is still so imperfect, and that there are still so many species of which the flowers and fruit, and consequently the real position in the systematic arrangement, are unknown."

To show the importance of knowing what the species of a particular forest or growth of bamboo is, and of being able to forecast the time when it will seed, the following paragraph may be quoted :—

"In Burma the majority of teak forests are composed of a main crop of bamboos, above the canopy of which appear the crowns of trees and especially teak, and it is only when a year of bamboo seedling takes place that suppressed young teak can get a start or teak seedlings appear. So that it is necessary for forest officers to watch and see when indications of flowering are given, and be ready, after clearing off the dry crop of bamboos by fire, to re-stock as much as possible of the area, either by allowing natural teak to come on, or by sowing or planting artificially. The species which are in this chiefly associated with teak are the "Myinwa" (*Dendrocalamus strictus*), "Tinwa" (*Cephalostachyum pergracile*), and "Kyathaungwa" (*Bambusa polymorpha*).

The FRUIT of the bamboo usually resembles that of other sections of grasses. In the *Arundinariæ* and *Eubambuseæ* the pericarp (skin or covering) of the fruit (*caryopsis*) is thin and closely adherent to it, and the caryopsis is small, more or less resembling a grain of wheat or barley. "In the *Dendrocalameæ* and *Melocanneæ* the seed is surrounded by a separable pericarp, which is crustaceous in some genera, thick and tough in *Melocalamus* (in which genus the fruit is large, reaching a diameter of 1 to 1½ inches), and large and fleshy in *Melocanna* and *Ochlandra*. In *Melocanna bambusoides* the fruit is large and pear-shaped, often reaching 3 to 5 inches in length, and 2 to 3 inches in breadth; while in *Ochlandra travancorica* it is often 4 inches long, including the stiff conical beak."

The DISTRIBUTION of bamboos in India follows the distribution

of the rainfall, and Mr. Gamble shows it in a table which gives the names of the bamboos he describes, with their distribution according to the seven principal regions, namely—(1) North-Western India including Rajputana, (2) Central India and the Deccan, (3) Western Ghats and the Coast, (4) Ceylon, (5) Bengal including Assam, (6) Burma, and (7) Malaya and the Andaman Islands. As already mentioned this list is made up of 15 genera, and 115 species, of which 1 genus, containing 2 species, is new; and, of the total 115, 40 species seem to be new. Many, of course, are found in more than one of the seven regions. Region (1) has 11 species, of which 4 are naturalised or acclimatised; (2)—6, all indigenous; (3)—16, of which only 1 is naturalised; (4)—10, only 1 naturalised; (5)—51, 3 of which are naturalised; (6)—42, 3 naturalised; and (7) has 31 species, of which 2 are naturalised. Mr. Gamble devotes considerable space to the details of this distribution, and in some cases subdivides the regions according to physical characters, and mentions which species are found in mountainous sub-regions, and which in the plains. The 42 species found in the 6th region, Burma, are, he says, only a beginning; he describes 2 more in an appendix, and says that more new species are likely to be discovered as Upper Burma is explored. The largest Burmese species is the acclimatized *Dendrocalamus giganteus*, of which magnificent plantations exist in various places, and notably near Myanong on the Irawadi River; but not far off in point of size come *D. Brandisii*, *D. Hamiltonii*, *Gigantochloa macrostachya*, *Bambusa Tulda*, *B. burmanica*, and *B. polymorpha*. Region (7), also, Malaya, which includes lower Tenasserim and the Andamans, has so far been only incompletely explored. South Tenasserim is but little known, and only recently two beautiful species have been received thence which may be the precursors of still more interesting kinds to follow. "Thanks to Mr. Ridley of the Singapore Gardens, much information has been obtained regarding the Malay bamboos; but there is no doubt that much has yet to be learned, and that most of the common species of Java and Sumatra will yet be found to belong also to the Indo-Malayan Flora." With the help of Mr. Gamble's book, the determination of species and the detection of new ones will be easier than before.

"The PROPAGATION of bamboo forest is simple enough; it is best done by seed, but can be done by taking root offsets, though in this case there is always a danger of the resulting clumps flowering when the parent clump flowers (we have seen this clearly in recent plantations at the base of the Saharanpur Siwaliks, North-West Provinces); also by layers from branches bent to the ground and pegged down, and, lastly, by

*cuttings*, though these latter are by no means easy to get to strike." Though bamboos, as a rule, do not flower until the clump is mature and, perhaps, thirty years old, and is throwing up its largest culms, the rhizome of a clump that has flowered may not die all at once, but may possibly throw up small culms, like the side branches of the large culms, which small culms also will flower before the rhizome finally expires. The present writer saw that, in the case of some of the clumps which used to ornament the town of Dehra, in the North-Western Provinces, after all the clumps in the place had flowered and seeded (in 1881, he thinks: they were then said to have been planted in 1851), and the dried culms had been cleared away, a thicket of thin shoots appeared on their sites, springing, as was then believed, from the outlying ramifications of the rhizomes, and these shoots flowered in the first or second year of their growth, and then also died. The actual source of these shoots was not searched for, and it is now thought possible that the twigs proceeded from the bases of the large culms below where they had been felled, as does occur when culms are cut out of a clump of that species which has not flowered.

On the MANAGEMENT of bamboo forest, a subject in which as a forest officer he is well versed, Mr. Gamble says it is an easy matter, if the clumps have been attended to from the beginning, that is, if dry culms have been regularly removed, if cutting at or near the ground level has alone been permitted, and if mature culms have been regularly thinned out yearly, so as to leave ample space for the development of new ones; but this state of things, he says, rarely exists in the natural forests, and especially in those in which cutting is given over to contractors, or allowed on permit. Consequently, to bring those forests into a state fit to give the best yield in material and revenue, the interference of the owner is necessary, and often some considerable capital expenditure. On this subject Mr. Gamble recommends that a paper in Vol. XVII. of the *Indian Forester* should be consulted, as applicable to most kinds, though written chiefly regarding the treatment of the common *Dendrocalamus strictus*.

The USES to which bamboos are put have been so often described that there is little, if anything, more—Mr. Gamble says—to be added. So far as possible, an account of the uses to which the different species have been put he gives under each, and he invites reference to the works of several other writers. He says, though:—

"For those who have lived for some time in India, it is difficult to imagine how the country would get on without bamboos, for from bamboos—at any rate in all but the very driest regions to  
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which it would be too far to carry them profitably—are made the houses, the furniture, the carts, the fittings of boats, the fences, the domestic utensils, the weapons—in short, almost all the objects of daily use, and the necessities of daily life. Bamboos are also used as food, both by the people (grain and young shoots) and by their cattle (the leaves); as a material for making paper; as a means to procure fire; and in plantation as ornaments to the villages and gardens."

Mr. Kurz's paper on "Bamboo and its Use," published in January 1876, in Vol. I of the "Indian Forester," is still, Mr. Gamble says, probably the best general treatise on the subject, and others are—the article, "Bamboo" in Dr. G. Watt's "Dictionary of the Economic Products of India", Vol. I.; the account given in Vol. III., at p. 587, of the "Pharmacographia Indica" of Messrs. Dymock, Warden and Hooper; and a paper by Sir D. Brandis, in the "Indian Forester," Vol. XIII, p. 107. The present writer remembers hearing read before the Edinburgh Botanical Society, about the year 1857, a very interesting paper on the subject by an officer of the Madras Medical Service, but this he cannot now find in print; and Mr. Gamble informs him that there is an old but good account of bamboos and their uses in the "Penny Cyclopædia" for 1835, written, he believes, by Dr. Lindley, the well-known botanist and horticulturalist. A comparatively recent account of Bamboos in general is to be found in the great German publication on the natural families of plants (*Die natürlichen Pflanzenfamilien*) edited by Drs. Engler and Prantl (already mentioned above), in which the grass family as a whole, in all its respects—enumerating the best known economic species and the uses which they serve, and discussing their structure and morphology, and their arrangement into tribes and genera,—has been treated of by Professor Edward Haeckel of St. Poelten, Austria, who, however, does not mention the culm-sheaths as specific characters. This treatise was translated into English by F. Lamson-Scribner, of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and Effie A. Southworth, in 1890, and has been published during the past year by Archibald Constable and Co., of London,—though printed in New York.

Kurz, in his forest flora of British Burma, 1877, says:—

"In tropical countries bamboo is one of the most important productions. Bamboo is the material most used in house-building, and different species are adapted differently for the several parts of which a native house consists,—strong and thick-wooded bamboo stems being used for house-posts, crossbars, &c., while thin-wooded kinds are split, and serve for floors, mats, walls, &c.—The younger stems slit into thin strips are used instead of ropes and strings."—"For hedges and fences are chiefly thorny and shrubby bamboos in use, and the thorny ones are also generally used as defence in time of war. For scaffolding, bridges, rafts, floating timber" (floats for

timber) "&c., bamboo is invaluable."—"The native furniture, as well as other utensils, such as serve for drinking, eating, or storing small goods, as also the water-tubes in which water is fetched from the river and stored in the house, are usually made of bamboo. In many countries they serve also for axles, poles, and other parts of a native cart. For basket and fancy-work, bamboo is admirably fitted."—"The young stems, as also a few of the softer wooded kinds of bamboo, yield ample material for paper-making, and even for coarse clothing and gunny sacks. Musical instruments, too, from the harp and flute to the drum, are made of the same useful grass. The young shoots of many species are eaten cooked in curries, &c., or pickled, and form the well-known Malaya bamboo *atchar*."

But even in countries not within the tropics, bamboos are utilised to the full wherever they grow, and they are planted with an economic view. For instance, in the Dehra Dún district of the North-Western Provinces of British India, which comprises a part of the outer Himalaya mountains, as well as the sub-Himalayan valley or Dún, separated from the plains by the Siwalik range of hills, two species of *Arundinaria*, a genus of erect or climbing shrubby bamboos, namely, *A. falcata*, Nees, and *A. spathiflora*, Trin. are abundant in the Himalayas,—the first, which has culms 6—10 ft. high, ascending from 4,000 to 12,000 feet, but rarely found above 7,000, the well-known low-level *ringál*, and the second, which has culms 12—20 feet high, from 7,000 upwards—the common high level *ringál*, and their culms, besides being used for basket work, lining the roofs of houses, and floor-matting, are exported in considerable quantities to the plains, to make pipe-stems and fishing rods, and for other purposes. And at lower levels in the hills, and in the Dún and the adjoining plains, five larger species, belonging to three genera, grow in quantities, though of these perhaps only one, *viz.*, *Dendrocalamus strictus*, is indigenous, in forest regions up to about 3,000 feet in the hills. Commonly planted every where in the Dún, as in other sub-Himalayan tracts of North-Western India, is the thorny *Bambusa arundinacea*, while *Bambusa nutans*, *Dendrocalamus Hamiltonii*, and *D. Hookeri* are cultivated in the lower hills and in the plains adjoining. The culms of the large species, the four last-mentioned, are used for posts and rafters, and split up for various purposes, including matting for floors. In the Dún, and other forest tracts, suitable grass being abundant, thatch roofs are the rule, for ordinary village houses and huts, and still are in use, though being superseded by corrugated iron roofing, for the bungalows of European residents; and the framework to which the thatch is tied is largely made of bamboo, whole, or split to the sizes required. Unfortunately, however, bamboo is a favourite food of *termites*, the so-called "white-ants."

Before going through the body of Mr. Gamble's work, and noticing points of interest regarding the various species, including anything noteworthy as to the uses to which bamboos are put, Hækel's account under this head may be condensed. The mere enumeration of the uses of the *Bambuseæ* would, he says, fill many pages. They are especially indispensable to the inhabitants of India and Eastern Asia. "Their uses are more limited in South America" (why?). In building houses the thicker trunks are used as posts and beams, and the weaker (thinner-walled) ones, when split longitudinally and pressed out flat, for filling up the walls and for laying the floors. The internodes, cut in two longitudinally, are used for tiles. In China all the theatres are built of bamboo. Huts for temporary residents are very rapidly constructed from them. Both hanging and floating bridges of bamboo are in common use, especially in the Malayan Archipelago. Here may be interpolated some thing about bamboo bridges derived from other sources. During the construction of the piers of the great bridge over the Riveg Jumna, on the East Indian Railway at Allahabad, communication for the workmen and engineering staff was maintained across the river in the dry season, when the current, though very deep, was not too strong, by rafts consisting of whole bamboos, of small size (*Dendrocalamus strictus*, probably), tied together as gratings and laid over each other until sufficient power of flotation was got. The writer walked across the river—à fleur de l'eau—and experienced a novel sensation. In his "Forty-one Years in India," which has been pronounced to be the book of the season, 1896-97. Vol. II, p. 58, Lord Roberts, when writing about the Lushai Expedition, says:—

"With the help of local coolies, the little Gurkhas" (of the native regiments) "were not long in running up hospitals and store sheds; bamboos, the one material used in Lushai-land for every conceivable purpose, whether it be a house, a drinking vessel, bridge, a woman's earring, or a musical instrument, grew in profusion on the hillside. A trestle bridge was thrown across the Tipai in a few hours, and about that bridge I have rather an amusing story to relate. On my telling the young Engineer officer in charge of the Sappers' Company that a bridge was required to be constructed with the least possible delay, he replied that it should be done, but that it was necessary to calculate the force of the current, the weight to be borne, and the consequent strength of the timber required. Off he went, urged by me to be as quick as he could. Some hours elapsed and nothing was seen of the Engineer, so I went for him and asked when the bridge was to be begun. He answered that his plans were nearly completed, and that he would soon be able to commence work. In the meantime, however, and while these scientific calculations were being made, the headman of the local coolies had come to me and said if the order were given, he would throw a bridge over the river in no time. I agreed, knowing how clever natives often are at this kind

of work, and thinking I might as well have two strings to this particular bow. Immediately numbers of men were to be seen felling the bamboos on the hillside a short distance above the stream; these were thrown into the river, and as they came floating down they were caught by men standing up to their necks in water, who cut them to the required length, stuck the uprights into the river-bed, and attached them to each other by pieces laid laterally and longitudinally; the flooring was then formed also of bamboos, the whole structure was firmly bound together by strips of cane, and the bridge was pronounced ready. Having tested its strength by marching a large number of men across it, I sent for my Engineer friend. His astonishment at seeing a bridge finished ready for use was great, and became greater when he found how admirably the practical woodmen had done their work; from that time, being assured of their ability to assist him, he wisely availed himself, when difficulties arose, of their useful if unscientific method of engineering."

It is rather difficult to understand how the coolies, however local, could cut to the proper lengths and fix the uprights while standing up to their necks in water; but the story, being one of that celebrated story-teller's, "*Ben Trovato*," need not be questioned.

Water conductors, continues Haekel, are constructed either by cutting the stem of a bamboo in halves longitudinally, or by breaking through the cross-walls at the nodes. Floats, capable, owing to contained air of carrying great loads, and the outriggers of boats in Ceylon, are made of bamboos. Slender culms serve for poles to support the betel-nut (says Haekel, or his translators, but they must mean the climbing pepper plant, *Chavica betel*, the leaf of which is used as a wrapper for and chewed with the slice of betel-nut, the fruit of the *Areca catechu* palm and dab of quicklime paste which is chewed as "*pán*") and other climbing cultivated plants (they are even imported into Europe for the same purpose), and the stronger ones for palisades. From many species, especially the thorny ones, impenetrable living hedges, and even works of defence, are constructed. Colonel Munro, in the introduction to his monograph, when treating of the periodicity of flowering in bamboos, says that Dr. Wallich mentions that a celebrated grove of bamboos which surrounded the city of Rampore, in Rohilkund, blossomed unusually in 1824, and every stem died, and he was informed that the same event had happened forty years previously. Mr. Gamble does not mention this hedge, but says that *Bambusa arundinacea* (which Munro seems to refer to in the passage just mentioned) makes a close, impenetrable hedge, and is said to have been largely planted around cities in both North and South India, and especially in Mysore, as a protection against attack. "Against such a hedge, nothing but explosives would have much effect." Cleghorn, quoting Buchanan's Journal iii, 261, says in respect to this:—"In Hyder Ali's time, the town of Bednore, in North-West Mysore,

was defended by a deep trench filled with clumps of this bamboo." The present writer passed through the city of Rampur, in Rohilkhand, in the year 1861, on his way to Naini Tal in the Himalaya, and he recollects that it was then surrounded by an impenetrable hedge of bamboo, which he has no doubt, from having subsequently become familiar with the species in Dehra-Dún, was *Bambusa arundinacea*. The road through the city passed by archways, or tunnels as they might be called, through the hedge, perhaps thirty feet long, and the stems on either side were so close that it seemed impossible for anything but a cat or a snake to get through, even had the species of bamboo been an unarmed one. Moreover, this bamboo, besides being spinose all over its branches and twigs, has a playful way of throwing out branches down to the ground, which develop twigs and spines, and those of each culm cross and interlock, so that it is a matter of great difficulty to cut culms out of even a detached clump that has not been regularly exploited, or kept strictly pruned to some height from the ground. And the culms spring so closely together from the rhizome that they not infrequently cannot find their way aloft without getting bent and damaged in the process. I should think fire would have more chance of making a breach in such a fortification than the explosives proposed by Mr. Gamble, if the green culms would burn, because the debris would be as impassable as the standing crop. This habit of growth greatly diminishes the value of *Bambusa arundinacea* as a crop. Not only are many culms crooked, and of irregular growth, but the cost of extracting them from the clump is very great, compared with the price they fetch. The species, however, is so graceful that it will always retain its place in cultivation. The frontispiece to the translation of Haeckel's "Grasses" is a reproduction of a drawing, or painting, "after nature" by Lady Brandis, of an isolated clump of *B. arundinacea* "23 m. high, in Dehra Dún valley (North-Western Himalayas), 6,070 m. above sea level," which gives a good general idea of such a clump; but the leafless culms which overtop the others, and ought to be the newest and therefore the largest, and have not developed leaves, have nothing of the natural grace they ought to show—possibly owing to bad copying; they look more like half-destroyed culms of a clump that has seeded and died. It may be presumed that the American translators are responsible for the extraordinary altitude, attributed to the locality in the foot-note to this plate—6,070 metres = 19,915 feet. The final "o" is evidently surplus, the elevation of the Dehra Dún being from 1,000 to 3,000 feet, from the Ganges to the foot of the Himalaya, in the centre of the twin valley, or perhaps 1,400 to 3,000 feet from the Jumna to the same point.

Going back to Haeckel, we find that all the furniture of the Malays, Burmese, &c., is made from bamboos. A single internode of a large species, in which both separating walls have been left, and only one bored through, serves for a water-pail, a dozen or more of which stand in every Malay house. While still full of sap, these internodes are even used as cooking utensils. Smaller internodes furnish pitchers, flasks, and cups, and wide internodes—beehives. Carrying poles, masts of small ships, walking canes, pipe-stems, purses, knife-handles, and musical instruments are mentioned as being made of bamboo.

"The 'Anklong' of the Malays consists of internodes of different thicknesses arranged according to their tones, and suspended near each other, and which are made to sound by striking. The living culms are made by the Malays into Æolian harps by piercing them at certain distances, and thus allowing the air to pass through them. The finely split bamboos open a new category of uses. The outer green rind of the young culms is split into narrow strips or ribbons, and made into baskets and fine braided work; for example, Chinese fans, large and small boxes, and even hats and jackets."

The lacquered Burmese boxes, with pull-off covers, used for so many household purposes, have a bamboo-plaited framework. An internode, with one joint left on, makes a good travelling case for small maps, plans, and photographs, or a pen and pencil receptacle.

"If the threads are boiled in lye, and then rolled and scraped, they become soft enough for weaving and for ropes. Coarse mats laid over each other like roofing slates are a favourite roofing material in the Malayan peninsula."

It may be added that in Lower Burma, the writer remembers owing to the risk from jungle fires, thatch-roofing was permitted within the limits of a Municipality only if it were carefully covered with "wagat,"—a closely-plaited matting made of the outer hard layer of bamboo culms which is very smooth and silicious, and, therefore, in some degree non-inflammable.

"Bamboos are especially important for the manufacture of Chinese paper, of which they form the chief ingredient. The well-known Chinese umbrella consists of bamboo paper with a bamboo handle and split bamboo for a skeleton. The leaves are used for packing, filling beds, &c. The young shoots of the larger species are a favourite vegetable with the Malays and Chinese, and are even preserved for exportation. Those of the smaller species are eaten in China like asparagus or lettuce." "Abundant and good drinking water collects in the hollows of the internodes of many large species. In those of others are found those remarkable silicic acid concretions, the 'Tabasheer,' that are still playing an important part in the superstitious system of medicine among the Orientals. Tabasheer is considered, not merely in India, but in the whole Orient and China, as a medicine of the highest value for bilious fever, dysentery, jaundice, leprosy and lung diseases, as well as an aphrodisiac. As early as the times of

the Roman Empire, physicians ascribed medicinal properties to it, and it attained its world-wide fame through the Arabian physicians of the tenth and eleventh centuries." "The origin of the Tabasheer is not yet thoroughly explained; the most probable inference is that, at the time of the most rapid growth, great quantities of water are conducted into the bamboo stems from the roots and collect in the hollow internodes. The silicic acid (alkalies?) that are dissolved in it probably become decomposed by carbonic or organic acids, the alkalies thus formed are re-absorbed together with the water, and a silicious jelly remains which hardens into Tabasheer."

Perhaps the most singular, as well as ingenious, use of bamboo the present writer has come across is for fireworks. In the Bassein district of Burma, in the west of the Irawadi delta, on the occasion of a certain festival, fireworks of various sorts are let off, some in broad daylight, such as tourbillions which bound up and revolve in the air, giving off much smoke, and rockets of various sizes which are made of bamboo internodes charged with a composition of considerable explosive power, but not made for brilliant effect. Some are made of pieces of the largest bamboos—seven or eight inches in diameter, and six or seven feet in length, and these are laid on and fastened to carriages with two pairs of wooden wheels, and have a long thin bamboo trailing behind, as the stick of the rocket, which acts both as a guide to keep it straight, and as a check on the velocity at starting. The rocket, with its carriage, is pointed in a direction, perhaps slightly uphill and over roughish ground, through the crowd of spectators, who clear out from before it, but do not leave much room; and, being set alight, it starts off along the ground, and may go a hundred yards or two with the speed of a railway train before being burned out or getting upset. A small-sized rocket, balanced on a two-wheeled carriage, will even take the air on meeting with uneven ground, or on reaching the top of a slope; and occasionally the course becomes erratic, and the rocket charges through the crowd, causing great amusement. Possibly such contrivances have been used in war in Burma.

Regarding the use of the seeds of the bamboo as food-grain, Haekel says that in the East Indies the seeds, which are rich in flour, are collected and cooked like rice, and are used for food by the poorer castes. But often, in Brazil as well as the Indies, misfortune follows the production of a large crop of mealy seeds. It is the cause of an extraordinary increase of mice and rats, which, after having eaten up all the bamboo seeds, turn to the neighbouring fields, devouring the crops of whole provinces. The German Colonies in Rio Grande do Sul and Sta. Catarina are visited by these pests at intervals of about thirteen years.

To return to Mr. Gamble's book:—the species of bamboo

found in the 1st, or North-West India region, have already been mentioned—two of them of the shrubby genus, *Arundinaria*. Two other species of that genus have been found in the North-Western Himalaya, one—*A. Falconeri* (Bth. and Hook. fil.)—only in Kumaun, being mainly a Nepalese kind, extending to Bhután, and regularly cultivated in Europe, where it flowered gregariously in the “seventies.” The other, *A. Jaunsarensis*, a new species discovered by Mr. Gamble, and found in the hills of the Jaunsar sub-division of the Dehra Dún District, in one locality only, at 7 to 8,000 feet elevation, a graceful, reed-like bamboo, is at once distinguishable by its single culms arising from a long creeping jointed rhizome, at intervals of 2 to 3 feet. *Arundinaria* contains about 47 to 50 known species, mostly Asiatic, from India, China, and Japan, but with about 5 North American, 10 South American, and 1 from South Africa. *A. Wightiana* is found only on the Hills of South India and Ceylon, most common on the Nilgiris, where it covers the upper slopes above 6,000 ft. chiefly as underwood in “sholas” of other trees. “This very pretty species flowers annually, and, being practically the only Nilgiri reed-like bamboo, is at once recognised in those hills. It is commonly used for mat-making and baskets, also for fences.” Another species very near it, *A. floribunda*, is a small erect shrubby bamboo, with culms only 2 to 5 feet high, found only in Ceylon. *A. elegans*, found in flower by Kurz in 1872, with culms 12 to 20 feet high, flattened on one side in alternate internodes, is the chief Burmese species at 5 to 7,500 elevation, extending northwards to the Naga Hills in Assam. *A. debilis*, a shrubby gregarious bamboo, which grows only in Ceylon at 6 to 8,000 feet, is used as fodder for cattle. Probably the smallest Indian species of bamboo is *A. densifolia*, a densely gregarious shrub, with culms only 6 inches to 3 feet high, a native of South India and Ceylon. The common gregarious small bamboo of the Darjeeling upper forests (British Sikkim), in universal use there as a fodder for cattle and ponies, as well as for the other usual purposes, is *A. racemosa*. *A. Griffithiana*, and *A. callosa*, from Assam and the East Himalaya, are thorny bamboos, that is, they have a ring of conical, short, thick spines round the base of the nodes. *A. intermedia*, found in the lower hills of Sikkim up to 7,000 feet, and cultivated in Calcutta, the Nilgiris, and elsewhere, has strong culms which make excellent fishing rods; and *A. Hookeriana* is a handsome, tall, tufted bamboo, which Mr. Gamble says\* ought to be cultivated, and should thrive in places in Europe which are sheltered from frost. *A. Prainii*, a graceful little climbing bamboo, Mr. Gamble says, he described in 1890 as a new genus, but, bowing to the authorities at Kew,



he has transferred it to *Arundinaria* ; it is found in the Naga and Jaintia Hills of Assam. The inflorescence of seven other species of *Arundinaria*, besides *A. Jaunsarensis*, is unknown, all, except the one named, being natives of the North-Eastern Himalaya, Assam, or Burma.

The genus *PHYLLOSTACHYS* contains five or more species, belonging to Eastern Asia, China and Japan, and two of them, *P. bambusoides* and *P. Mannii*, extend to Assam ; and another, *P. nigra*, is cultivated in Europe and the Indian hills : both of these Indian species produce excellent walking sticks.

The second sub-tribe, *EUBAMBUSEÆ*, comprises four genera, *BAMBUSA*, *THYRSOSTACHYS*, *GIGANTOCHLOA*, and *OXYTENANTHERA*. *BAMBUSA* has 24 Indian and Straits species, described by Mr Gamble ; and, besides these, there are about 6 Chinese and Malay species which are well-known ; and there are also about 7 species from Eastern Asia and 12 from the Malay Islands which are only very imperfectly known and described. Of the 24 described, 8 belong to the Western Peninsula, 9 to the Burmese region, and 5 to Malaya and the Islands of the Bay of Bengal, while 2 (*B. vulgaris* and *B. nana*) are cultivated species frequently met with throughout the Indo-Malayan area, and one of them (*B. vulgaris*) also in America. Only one is certainly known from Australia. (It may here be mentioned that as this is not a scientific article the name of the author of a species is frequently omitted. Moreover, such names are usually quoted in a contracted form, which might only serve to confuse the lay reader). *Bambusa Tulda* is an arboreous, gregarious bamboo, with culms 20 to 70 feet high, 2 to 4 inches in diameter, cultivated all through Eastern Bengal and Burma, and is probably the most common kind in the Lower Bengal rice country and in the Assam valleys. *Tulda* is one of the Bengali names for it. It is a native of Central and Eastern Bengal, Assam and Burma, and, if Mr. Gamble is right, of the Golconda Hills of Vizagapatam and of Orissa. It has the habit of flowering gregariously over considerable areas. The culms are used for all general purposes, and they are strong, but cannot approach those of *B. Balcooa*, as Roxburgh pointed out. That botanist said that, if seasoned in water, they become more durable ; otherwise they are soon devoured by a small *Bostrichus* beetle. We recollect that in Burma bamboos were always so seasoned. *B. Balcooa*, just mentioned (*Batku bāns*, Bengali), is a tall, stout, tufted bamboo, with culms 50 to 70 feet high, and 3 to 6 inches in diameter, a native of Assam, Lower Bengal and Behar, extending to Gorakhpur in the North-Western Provinces : also cultivated at the Cape of Good Hope, and not uncommon in gardens there. It is

probably the best and strongest species for building purposes, and is greatly esteemed in Calcutta, but it is not ornamental. It is much used for scaffolding, and it is very durable if well seasoned in water. It has been rarely seen in flower. *B. nutans*, already mentioned as cultivated in the lower hills and adjoining plains of the North-Western Provinces, is, Mr. Gamble says, extremely difficult of separation from *B. Tulda* when flowers are not available, and when not seen growing. It flowers only at long intervals—fifty or sixty years; and the best distinction is that of the culms, 20 to 40 feet high,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 inches diameter, which in *B. nutans* come singly from a creeping root stock, while in *B. Tulda* they are from a central tuft; but even this is not a constant character. The culms of *B. nutans* are strong, straight and good. In the Dehra-Dún, the villagers cultivate it by planting offsets, and the cut culms fetch good prices. It is a graceful species, worth growing for ornament; and, its culms being well apart it is easy to work for profit. *B. burmanica*, n. sp., Gamble, a large handsome bamboo, with culms up to 50 or 60 feet in height, and 4 inches in diameter, strong, nearly solid, is a native of the Katha district of Upper Burma. It flowered in 1890, and seeds were largely collected and distributed by Mr. J. W. Oliver, Conservator of Forests, from which many plants have been raised at Dehra Dún and elsewhere. *B. polymorpha*, Munro, is a large tufted bamboo, with culms in dense clumps, 50 to 80 feet high, 3 to 6 inches in diameter, a native of Eastern Bengal and Burma, in the latter province often associated with teak. It extends North-Westwards into the Sylhet district of Assam. It is known in Burma as *Kyathaungwa*, and is considered the best kind for the walls, floors, and roofs of houses in Lower Burma. *B. pallida* is a large, graceful bamboo, growing wild in thick clumps in the hills of Northern and Eastern Bengal, Assam, and parts of Burma, up to 5 or 6,000 feet, and cultivated in the plains below. It is much used for various purposes, *B. nana*, the "Chinese bamboo," a native of China and Japan, cultivated in India, Malaya and Ceylon, a thickly growing, ever-green tufted shrub, with culms 8 to 10 feet long, has been admitted to the Indian list by Mr. Gamble, on the authority of Roxburgh and Kurz. It makes excellent, stiff, closely-growing hedges, and is hardy. *B. vulgaris* is another species not indigenous in India, but which has been so much cultivated that it has run wild over the warmer parts of India, Burma, Malaya, and Ceylon; and any work which proposed to assist in identifying the species would, Mr. Gamble says, be incomplete without reference to it. The original country is uncertain, but it is found in Java and the Moluccas generally,

in the Mascarene Islands, the Cape, St. Helena, Algeria, the West Indian Islands, Mexico, Central and South America; and it is cultivated in most tropical gardens and in hot-houses in Europe, as at Kew and Dublin. It is a moderate-sized-bamboo, with rather distant culms, which are bright green, yellow, or striped green and yellow, polished, shining, 20 to 50 feet high, 2 to 4 inches in diameter or more, walls of the internodes rather thin. *B. Kingiana* is one of Mr. Gamble's new species, from Upper Burma, found by Mr. Oliver, which Mr. Gamble has named in compliment to Dr. King, under whose auspices, and with whose assistance, his work was written. It is a large species, with culms 60 to 70 feet high, and up to 4 inches diameter. *B. lineata*, Munro, is a puzzle: Kurz, who named it *B. Rumphiana*, thought it would prove to belong to a new genus when the fruit should be found; but, pending that apparently, Mr. Gamble has retained it in *Bambusa*, and described it as *B. lineata*, because Rumphius had long ago named it *Leleba* (a Malay name) *lineata*, and Munro had published it as *B. lineata* in the same year (1866) in which Kurz gave it the name of *B. Rumphiana*. It is a thickly-growing, reed-like, large-leaved shrub, with short culms, native of the Malaya Archipelago and the Moluccas, and extending northwards to the Andaman Islands, where it was gathered in Rutland Island by Dr. Prain. It grows in marshy coast forests. *B. schizostachyoides*, Kurz M.S., is one of the few bamboos known to grow in the Andaman Islands, and it grows only there in the tropical forests. The genus of this species remained for some time in doubt, Munro having thought it ought to be put in *Melocanna*. *B. Wrayi*, described by Dr. Otto Stapf, in the Kew Bulletin, 1893, was found in the Malaya Peninsula, in Perak, by L. Wray, Jun.; it is a graceful semi-scandent bamboo, with culms 40 to 60 feet high, but only about 1 inch diameter, very thin, the top curving round almost to the ground, with internodes over 7 feet in length. Its inflorescence is more like that of two other genera than of *Bambusa*, and Mr. Gamble thinks that when the fruit is obtained this remarkable species may be found to belong not to *Bambusa*, and possibly be of a new genus. It has probably the narrowest culm for its length of almost any bamboo known except *Arundinaria Prainii*. In sending to Kew, Mr. Wray wrote:—

“The plant grows at from 4,500 feet to nearly 6,000 feet elevation, generally on the ridges of the hills. The canes are about 1 inch in diameter near the ground, and taper away to  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch. These long thin ends droop down till they touch the ground. The canes are from 40 to 60 feet long. They are furnished with whorls of leaves at the upper joints, and, as can be imagined, the bamboo is one of the most elegant of its kind . . . . . The joints are over 7 feet in

length. The longest joint of a cane is generally the third or fourth from the ground. The Semangs use the large size canes for the outer case of their blow-pipes, and the small ones for the inner tube . . . . This appears to grow only in two places in Perak."

*Bambusa Blumeana*, from Malay and the Moluccas, is a tall thorny bamboo, with many branches, abundantly armed with short recurved spines in threes, the middle one longest: it is easily distinguished from the common thorny bamboo by the parts of the flowers, and the culm-sheaths. *B. arundinacea* has already been mentioned as a troublesome customer owing to its defensive armature, though commonly cultivated, for its beauty chiefly nowadays; but it deserves further mention in this place. The culms in large specimens reach 80 to 100 feet in height and 6 to 7 inches in diameter, bearing branches from the base, the lower joints giving out long horizontal shoots, armed at the nodes with 2 to 3 recurved spines and with few leaves; walls of the internodes in smaller culms thick, 1 to 2 inches, cavity small. Owing probably to the fact that in some situations it throws up large culms, and in others but small ones, this species has had various names given to it. Mr. Gamble says:—

"It will be seen that I have included in this species all the three described by Nees and Roxburgh, and acknowledged by Ruprecht, Munro and Beddome, *B. arundinacea*, *B. spinosa*, and *B. orientalis*; also the *B. arundo* admitted by Ruprecht. I have examined a great many specimens, and can find no real specific difference between them."

He describes *B. orientalis* as a variety, owing to certain differences in the inflorescence; but, nevertheless, he feels that, without better information, he is right in thinking that, in *India proper*, there is only one thorny *Bambusa*, the amount of variation it shows being fully accounted for by the variations of climate and soil. Both Brandis and Kurz considered that there was only one species: Kurz considered that the culm-sheath was all important, and Mr. Gamble says these three plants have practically the same. Nevertheless, he says it is easy to distinguish two very different varieties in habit, namely:—

"(1) The tall handsome large-culmed variety of the valleys of the Circars and the hills of South India, and so often cultivated elsewhere: and (2) the almost dwarf, thick-branched, very thorny small-culmed variety which grows gregariously on the low hills and "laterite" downs of Orissa and Ganjam, and extends into Lower Bengal and across to Burma" (the present writer thinks he has met it, and been defeated by it, on the Ghâts through which the East India Railway runs between Allahabad and Jabalpur, and also close to Rangoon, where it flowered in 1865-66). "This latter is gregarious in densely thorny clumps of some 20 feet in height, and is probably the one which Roxburgh meant as *Bambusa spinosa*. But I doubt if it can be described as a variety by any definite characters."

Before leaving *Bambusa arundinacea*, and its fellow species, of which Mr. Gamble describes four the flowers of which are not yet known, the following quotation regarding its importance as a food-grain producer may be given from Colonel Munro's monograph. The specific name of the plant he refers to is not mentioned, but, from the dates and countries where Mr. Gamble says it has been known to flower, this evidently is the species :—

"How important an event the general flowering of the bamboos is, may be learnt from the perusal of the astonishing but authentic accounts contained in the Journal above referred to" (Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India). "Among these facts, it is related that in 1812, in Orissa, a general flowering of the bamboo took place, and prevented a famine. The seed gave sustenance to thousands, and very many subsisted entirely on it. Hundreds of people were on the watch day and night to secure the seeds as they fell from the branches. Mr. Shaw Stewart, the Collector of Canara, on the west coast of India, states that in 1864 there was a general flowering of the bamboo in the Soopa jungles, and that a very large number of persons, estimated at 50,000, came from the Dharwar and Belgaum districts to collect the seed. Each party remained about ten or fourteen days, taking away enough for their own consumption during the monsoon months, as well as some for sale; and he adds that the flowering was a most providential benefit during the prevalent scarcity. Mr. Gray, writing from Maldah in 1866, says, 'In the south district, throughout the whole tract of country, the bamboo has flowered, and the seed has been sold in the bazar at thirteen seers (twenty six pounds) for three rupees, rice being ten seers, the ryots having stored enough for their own wants in addition. Hundreds of maunds (the maund being 100 pounds) have been sold in the English bazar at Maldah; and large quantities have been sent to Sultangunge and other places twenty-five to thirty miles distant, showing how enormous the supply must have been.' Mr. Gray adds: 'The bamboo harvest has been quite providential, as the ryots were on the point of starving.'"

Mr. Gamble says the seeds somewhat resemble wheat seeds.

Passing over several genera, a few particulars must be given regarding *Dendrocalamus*. Sixteen species are, so far, known, fifteen of which are British Indian, and one is found in China and Formosa. Of the Indian species one (*D. strictus*) is the most widespread and common of all Indian bamboos; the rest are confined to the North-East Himalaya, the Indo-Burmese, and the Burma-Malay regions. *D. giganteus* is the largest of the Indian bamboos. The first on the list is *D. strictus*, which has been several times mentioned already. It is a deciduous densely tufted bamboo, with strong culms which are solid, or have only a small cavity, and variable in size according to climate, 20 to 50 feet high, 1 to 3 inches in diameter. It is found on dry hills throughout India and Burma. To the north it is found in the Punjab Salt Range, and it extends down along the base of the Himalaya and in the Siwalik Range to Nepal, but does not occur in Sikkim, or in the

Assam valley. It is common throughout the hills of the Eastern and Western Ghâts, and of Central and South India, ascending to 3,000 feet, and is found in the Eng and drier upper mixed forests throughout Burma, but is absent from Ceylon. In the valleys of Burma and South India, it reaches a large size, with hollow culms, longer leaves and culm sheaths; but in the dry Deccan hills and in the Siwálíks, it is small and has nearly solid culms, small leaves and sheaths. In this state it is commonly known as the 'male bamboo.' It furnishes, when solid culms are procurable, the best material for lance shafts, and we believe this is the species from which is obtained the *lathi*, the long, stout, but yet light walking-sticks used by the natives of India. When these are armed with iron rings along the lower foot or so, they become lethal weapons, and are the arms of watchmen, and of the gangs of hired ruffians called '*latials*.' The present writer found them very good handles for *durmats*, or road rammers, and believes they are sold after being seasoned and hardened by fire or smoke, which gives them a rich dark brown colour. This species flowers gregariously over large areas; but it may be found flowering sporadically, a few clumps at a time, almost every year, in any locality; and such clumps then usually die off. A gregarious flowering produces the best seed. It is very easily grown, either from seed, or from root offsets, and rhizomes take five years to form clumps in favourable localities. On its growth and cultivation, says Mr. Gamble, Colonel Doveton's excellent paper in the "Indian Forester," Vol. IX., p. 529, may be consulted; and from that paper, he quotes as follows:—

"This bamboo is used for rafters and battens, spear and lance-shafts, walking sticks, whip handles, stakes to support sugar cane, for the manufacture of small mats used like slates in roofing, mats for floors, covers of carts, sieves, hand punkas, umbrellas, light chairs and sofas, vessels for holding grease and oil, bows and arrows, cordage, and for the manufacture of many other minor articles. It is also used for the buoyage of heavy timbers in rafting, and, when converted into charcoal, is in request for the finer smiths' work. Dry stems are also used for torches, and the production of fire by friction. The leaves are much sought after as food for buffaloes, and are fairly good fodder for horses. The seed is used in times of famine as food-grain, and while wheat sold at 12 seers (24 lbs.) for the rupee, bamboo seed sold at from 40 to 50 seers. It will probably come into use for the consolidation and support of embankments."

*D. sericeus* is near the last-named species, and is probably only a variety of it; but it has a distinct appearance in flower, owing to the spreading silky pubescence on the spikelets; and it grows only on the summit of Parasnath Mountain, in Chutia Nagpur, Bengal. *D. sikkimensis*, Gamble, is a large bamboo, with few culms in a tuft, 50 to 60 feet high, 5 to 7 inches in diameter. It is found in the North-East Himalaya, in Sikkim,

and Bhutan, at 4 to 6,000 feet ; and on Tura Peak, Garo Hills, Assam, at 3,500 feet. It is cultivated in the Botanic Gardens of Calcutta, Ceylon, and the Nilgiris ; also in the Royal Gardens, Kew ; and at Castlewellan, in Ireland, and other places in Europe. It is the largest species in Sikkim, and is the kind preferred by the Lepchas and Bhutias for making the ' chungas ' for carrying water and milk, and for churning butter in. The leaves are said to be poisonous to cattle and horses. *D. Hookeri*, Munro, is a large tufted bamboo, with culms 50 to 60 feet high, 4 to 6 in. diam., walls about 1 in. thick. It is a native of the Khasia and Jaintia and Daphla Hills in Assam, at 2—5,000 feet altitude, extending to the Bhamo district in Upper Burma. It is the large species of the Dikrung Valley, Daphla Hills, and is used for ' chungas ' or water buckets. *D. Hamiltonii* is a large bamboo, with culms in a tuft, sometimes growing tall and erect, but more often sending out its stems at an angle, or curved downwards—culms large, 40 to 60 or even 80 feet high, 4 to 7 inches diameter. It has already been mentioned as a native of the North-East Himalaya, Assam valleys and hills, extending eastwards to Upper Burma, and westwards to the Sutlej River, though doubtfully indigenous beyond Nepal. It is much used, but its comparative softness and thin walls make it inferior to such species as *Bambusa Tulda*, and *B. Bakooa*. It is largely grown in the Dehra Dún, where it may be seen as one of the species along the road to Mussooree, through the Viceroy's Body Guard lines. The young shoots are eaten as a vegetable. It flowers usually sporadically, but sometimes gregariously, as it was doing, when Mr. Gamble wrote of it in 1894, both in Sikkim and in Dehra Dún. Of its straggling habit, so noticeable in the forests of Bengal and Burma, but curiously much less so in the Dehra Dún, Mr. J. W. Oliver remarks—"When they have no trees to support them, the main stems bend over, forming impenetrable thickets, and the lateral branches ascend vertically, often forming shoots as long as the main stems." *D. giganteus*, already several times mentioned is probably, says Mr. Gamble, the giant of the bamboo tribe, with culms in a tuft, 80 to 100 ft. long, 8 to 10 inches in diameter, with thin walls ; internodes rather short, 15-16 inches ; *culm sheaths* very long, the lower part about 20 inches long by 20 broad at base. It is a native of the Malay Peninsula and Penang, and northwards perhaps to Tenasserim, and is much cultivated in Burma, and in Botanic Gardens. Good pictures of a magnificent specimen in the Royal Botanic Gardens at Peradeniya in Ceylon, with its young shoots, appeared in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* for 10th September, 1892 : these are from photographs, one—of the whole clump from some distance off, showing a dense mass of culms in

close contact with each other, which is described as being 100 feet in height and 98 feet in circumference at 3 feet from the ground. The other picture is a near view of some of the culms rising from the ground, each said to be from 26 to 29 inches in circumference. The young shoots are said to have the appearance of Brobdiagnagian asparagus. Often confused with *D. giganteus* is *D. Brandisii*, Kurz., a "splendid bamboo" with culms 60 to 120 feet high, 5 to 8 inches diameter, and walls thick. It inhabits the tropical forests of the Eastern slopes of the Pegu Yoma (backbone) and of the Martaban Hills up to 4,000 ft., extending northwards to the Ruby Mines district, chiefly on calcareous rocks. *D. flagellifer*, Munro, Mr. Gamble thinks may prove to be the same as *D. Brandisii*, when it is better known. It is a native of the Malay Peninsula, extending northwards to Tenasserim, where Beddome collected it at 2,000 ft. elevation in 1879. Mr. Gamble describes, so far as possible, two or three "imperfectly known species" of *Dendrocalamus*, one of which is *D. Parishii*, collected once, in the Punjab Himalaya, by Lieutenant Parish, but not again. Its culms, culm-sheaths, and leaves are unknown, as is the exact locality where it grows. Mr. Gamble says it would be an excellent thing to obtain more specimens of this, and to ascertain its true position in the genus; but he thinks it has been a planted specimen of *D. Hookeri*. Another species, known only from the flowers, which were collected by Abdul Huk for the Calcutta Botanic Garden in 1892, is *D. Collettianus*. Mr. Gamble has named it after General Sir Henry Collett, K. C. B., who has done so much to make known the flora of Upper Burma.

We must hurry through the remaining 39 pages of Mr. Gamble's book. The genus *MELOCALAMUS* comprises but one species, *M. compactiflorus*, which is a tufted arborescent bamboo, with scandent culms—15 to 25 and even 100 feet in length, and then climbing over tall trees,  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 inch in diameter. *MELOCALAMUS* has a large subglobular *caryopsis* (fruit) 1 to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, containing a large fleshy seed. It is a native of Eastern Bengal and Burma, in the hills. *PSEUDOSTACHYUM*, Munro, also is a genus of but one species, *P. polymorphum*, which is a large shrubby or semi-arborescent bamboo, with culms arising from a long, creeping, jointed rhizome, a species of the Eastern Himalaya, Assam, and Burma, and remarkable for most frequently having diseased inflorescence. It is a valuable kind, for in Sikkim it is considered the best sort for making the basket-work used by the natives, and on the tea estates, as the culms are easily split, and the laths are flexible and durable. Mr. W. T. McHarg, Deputy Conservator of Forests, who found it in the Bhamo District of Upper Burma, says:—"It is principally used by the Kachin wizards or vok. cv.]



prophesying priests, who roast the stem, and then prophesy according to the way the bamboo cracks or splits up." TEINOSTACHYUM, Munro, contains five species, shrubby or arborescent and some scandent, three species being found in the Assam-Burma region, one from the Western Ghats of the Peninsula, and one from Assam; their interesting characters and their uses we must skip for want of space. The positions of some of them in the genus, or even in the sub-tribe, seem rather doubtful. CEPHALOSTACHYUM, Munro, contains seven species, all from the North-East Himalaya, Assam, and Burma, one only (*C. pergracile*) crossing the Bay of Bengal and re-appearing in Chutia Nagpur. They are shrubby or arborescent bamboos, some semi-scandent. *C. pergracile*, Munro, is an arboreous, tufted bamboo, with culms thirty to forty feet high, two to three inches diameter, walls very thin. This species is found throughout Burma, where it is common in upper mixed forests, and often forms forests by itself. Mr. Mann says it is indigenous on the lower Naga Hills of Assam, and Mr. Gamble found it in the Singhbhum district of Bengal. It is probably the most common of all Burmese bamboos except *Dendrocalamus strictus*. The culms are largely used for building and mat-making and other purposes, and in Burma the joints are used for boiling *Kauknyin*, or glutinous rice, the effect being to make a long mould of boiled rice which can be carried about to be eaten on journeys.

The sub-tribe—MELOCANNEÆ, contains four genera. Of these, DINOCHLOA has two species, both Indo-Malayan, scandent, up to 100 feet in length. A variety of *D. Tjankorreh*, found in the Andamans, on the coasts, has the smallest flowers of any Indian species yet known. Kurz, in his 'Report on the Vegetation of the Andaman Islands,' says it forms nearly half of the scandent vegetation in the coast jungles, rendering many places nearly impenetrable.

The genus SCHIZOSTACHYUM has about sixteen species, of which five are Indo-Malayan: not much seems to be known of them. MELOCANNA contains one well-known species and another imperfectly identified. *M. bambusoides* grows to a good size, throughout Eastern Bengal, Assam, and Burma, from the Garo and Khasia Hills to Chittagong and Arracan, and again in Tenasserim. In parts of the above region, and certainly in Chittagong, this—says Mr. Gamble—

"is the most common species, and the one most universally employed for building purposes. Owing to its habit of sending out long underground rhizomes which give out culms at intervals, it spreads very rapidly, and is extremely difficult to get rid of for cultivation."—"This interesting and handsome species is one of the most valuable and important of the Indian bamboos. From

the Chittagong forests large numbers are yearly exported to Lower Bengal, and, according to the forest returns, about 16 millions are thus yearly required for building purposes in the Gangetic Delta. Although thin-walled, it is strong and durable, and it has the advantage of being straight and having only very slight knots." "Major Lewin says the culm is of the best description, and that white ants do not touch it."

The caryopsis of *MELOCANNA* is very large, pear-shaped, pericarp very thick. \*That of the species we have just written of is often 3 to 5 inches long, and 2 to 3 inches broad (large for the fruit of a grass!). The fruits occasionally germinate on the culm, sometimes, Kurz said, making 6 inches growth before they drop; and Mr. Gamble says that some sent to Dehra Dun in 1892, by post, germinated in transit, and the plants were growing well in 1894 when he wrote.\* Three other species which have been described as *Melocanna* have been relegated to other genera. *OCHLANDRA* comprises seven species of shrubby, gregarious, reed-like bamboos, six of which belong to South India and Ceylon, and one to the Malay Peninsula; caryopsis large or very large. *O. stridula*, Thwaites, is a shrub belonging to Ceylon, very common in the low country in the south of the island, covering hundreds of square miles. It is said to flower annually and regularly.

\* The following are among the bamboos cultivated in the Garden of the Imperial Forest School at Dehra Dun :—

<i>Arundinaria falcata</i> , Nees	...	N.-W. Himalaya.
" <i>suberecta</i> , Munro	...	Sikkim.
" <i>Hindsii</i> , Munro	...	China.
" <i>Fortunei</i> , "	...	"
<i>Phyllostachys Mannii</i> , Gamble	...	Assam.
" <i>nigra</i> , Munro	...	Japan.
" <i>ruscifolia</i> , Miford	...	"
<i>Bambusa Tulda</i> , Munro	...	N. India.
" <i>nutans</i> , Wall.	...	"
" <i>burmanica</i> , Gamble	...	Burma.
" <i>nana</i> , Roxb.	...	China.
" <i>Balcooa</i> , Roxb.	...	N. India.
" <i>vulgaris</i> , Schr.	...	China.
" <i>arundinacea</i> , Willd.	...	India.
" <i>Oliveriana</i> , Gamble.	...	Burma.
<i>Thyllostachys Oliveri</i> , Gamble	...	Burma.
" <i>siamensis</i> , Gamble	...	"
<i>Dendrocalamus strictus</i> , Nees	...	India
" <i>membranaceus</i> , Munro	...	Burma.
" <i>sikkimensis</i> , Gamble	...	Sikkim.
" <i>Hamiltonei</i> , Nees & Arn.	...	N. India.
" <i>patellaris</i> , Gamble	...	Sikkim.
" <i>giganteus</i> , Munro	...	Burma.
" <i>Brandisii</i> , Kurz	...	"
<i>Melocalamus compactiflorus</i> , Bth. H. f.	...	"
<i>Cephalostachyum pergracile</i> , Munro	...	"
<i>Melocanna bambusoides</i> , Trin.	...	E. Bengal.

besides a few others from Japan, of which the specific names are not quite certain, and some have yet too young for identification.

Of *O. Beddomei*, n. sp., Gamble, collected by Colonel R. H. Beddome in Wynaad, neither the culms, culm-sheaths, nor caryopsis are known, but the flowers are sufficient for a description. *O. Travancorica*, Benthani, an erect shrubby, arborescent, reed-like gregarious bamboo, is said to be a magnificent and most interesting species, of which its discoverer, Colonel Beddome, late Conservator of Forests in Madras, says :—

“ It covers many miles of the mountains, often to the entire exclusion of all other vegetation ; in open mountain tracts it generally grows to 8 to 10 feet in height, but most close and impenetrable, elephants even not attempting to get through it ; inside sholas, and on their outskirts, it grows to 15 feet high, and is much more straggling. It is called *Irul* by the natives, and by Europeans the elephant grass.”

Mr. F. W. Bourdillon, Conservator of Forests in the Travancore State, says “ the culms attain a height of 20 feet in favourable circumstances, with a circumference of 7 inches. The internodes are sometimes 5 feet long. It flowers almost every seven years, and dies down. It makes a splendid paper, and we have a paper mill which uses it almost exclusively. The fibre has been pronounced superior to ‘Esparto.’ Our only difficulty in connection with it is the great cost of the chemicals required.” From some characters of the flowers, Beddome expresses a doubt whether it should not form a new genus ; but Mr. Gamble follows the authors of the “ *Genera Plantarum*,” Benthani and Hooker, in keeping it in *Ochlandra*. He says it is a very remarkable bamboo in respect of its long culm-internodes and large flowers and fruit. Mr. Gamble has counted up to 120 stamens in one spikelet ; and the caryopsis is two inches long, by 5 to 6 inches broad, and surmounted by a conical, stiff, 2 in. long, beak.

In an appendix Mr. Gamble gives descriptions of four additional species lately found in his region : two are in *Arundinaria*, namely, *A. Pantlingi*, n. sp. Gamble, from British Bhutan, at 11,000 feet, and *A. armata*, n. sp. Gamble. Mr. Pantling sent his collectors to look for a bamboo which had been mentioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Godwin-Austen as possessing thorns at the nodes of the culms, and besides it, which proved to be *A. Griffithiana*, Munro, they found flowering specimens of *A. aristata*, Gamble, and the new species *A. Pantlingi*, which has no thorns. *A. armata*, n. sp. Gamble, is an ever-green shrubby bamboo, with single stems arising at intervals from a creeping rhizome. This is from Bernardmyo, in the Hills of Upper Burma, at 5,500 feet elevation. *Bambusa Oliveriana* n. sp. Gamble, is a moderate-sized tufted bamboo, with culms 40-45 feet long, 1-2 inch diameter, also from Upper Burma, near Mandalay, at from 1-2000 feet ; also sent by Mr. C. S. Rogers from the Ruby Mine Hills. It was flowering generally when Mr. Oliver found it near Mandalay in 1893-94, and as

large quantities of seed were collected and distributed, the species is likely soon to be well-known. The fourth additional species described in the appendix is a *Dendrocalamus*—*D. latiflorus* of Munro. It is said to be a very large bamboo, with culms 5 inches in diameter, cavity large, and is from the Southern Shan States, Upper Burma, collected by Dr. King's collectors.

Nothing can better show what the value of Mr. Gamble's work is, and the estimation in which it is held by botanists, than the following extract from Part XXII, published in the end of 1896, of "The Flora of British India," by Sir J. D. Hooker, K.C.S.I., &c., &c :—

"The following account of the *Indian Bambuseæ* is drawn up, almost verbatim, from Mr. Gamble's 'Bamboos of British India,' which forms part of Vol. vii of Dr. King's 'Annals of the Royal Botanic Gardens of Calcutta,' and of which Dr. King favoured me with a copy in advance, together with his and Mr. Gamble's permission to reproduce its contents in a form suited to the 'Flora of British India.' In doing this I have been obliged to curtail the descriptions. And in order to preserve the arrangement of matter adopted in this work, I have had to substitute for the keys to the species employed by Mr. Gamble specific characters selected according to my own judgment from his detailed descriptions, and in a few cases to substitute synonymous technical terms for those he has used. I have added nothing; for it is obvious that a botanist of Mr. Gamble's ability and wide experience of so many of the Indian bamboos in their native forests, having access also to the unrivalled collections in the Herbarium of the Calcutta Gardens, should have exhausted the subject so far as the materials were available. It must not be supposed that this work supersedes his 'Bamboos of British India,' which is indispensable to the student of the tribe, by reason of its fuller descriptions and admirable plates and analyses. My cordial thanks are directly due to Dr. King and Mr. Gamble for this generous contribution to the 'Flora of British India,' and indirectly for the authentically-named collection of specimens corresponding to Mr. Gamble's descriptions which has been presented by the Government of India to the Herbarium of the Royal Gardens, Kew."

Sir Joseph Hooker goes on to say that, since the paragraph just above quoted was written, Mr. Freeman Mitford's "The Bamboo Garden" has appeared, a work replete with valuable observations upon the habit, mode of growth, and other characters of the hardy species of bamboo (including five Indian) cultivated by him. In it are pointed out, says Sir Joseph, for the first time, the true characters of the two types of sheath and blade that occur in the tribe *bambuseæ*, and which do not obtain, so far as he knows, in any other tribe of grasses; and he quotes at length some of Mr. Mitford's views on this subject, which, however, it would be foreign to the object of the present article further to allude to.

(To be continued.)

C. W. HOPE.

## ART. VI.—BYRON AND WATERLOO.

BYRON'S very peculiar mental habits are not displayed more clearly in any of his writings than in the episodic passage on the fall of Napoleon in the third canto of *Childe Harold*.

The pilgrim had been brought back upon the scene as one who would have been happier if he could have confined his spirit to the contemplation of the stars ; but he found himself recalled to the habitations of men, which wore and wearied him, and then—like a baffled eagle—he sought another upward flight. He is next compared to seamen on a doomed vessel who intoxicated themselves as the ship foundered ; and then, without transition, the reader is apostrophised as standing on the grave of myriads lately slain in battle. This awkward exordium is followed by some fourteen stanzas which have been not undeservedly more praised and quoted than any other portion of the poem, but which by no means deserve the same commendation as a record of anything which really occurred. The canto having been finished exactly a year after the event, one can account for all this only by observing carefully the circumstances in which the passage was composed ; and this can be done only if we can get at the facts of Byron's visit to the field some nine months after the traces of actual conflict had been cleared away and the dead had been buried.

What the actual state of the ground then was, we may learn from the letters of Mrs. Eaton, who saw it at the time and wrote a short narrative which was published anonymously by Murray and went through ten editions. This simple narrative has been republished, in later days, in a little book called "Waterloo Days," brought out by Messrs. George Bell & Sons, London, 1888.\* It gives details in a sensible and convincing manner, but throws on the subject of contemporaneous testimony a ray of light that is almost bewildering. A week after the close of the campaign the lady estimates the numbers of Bonaparte's army at Waterloo to have been nearly double of their actual sum ; and confounds the attack of one o'clock on the British left with the advance of the Old Guard on the centre at the end of the day. But what she actually saw, Mrs. Eaton describes in a more satisfactory manner. "I stood alone," she concludes, "upon the spot so lately bathed

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\* The first draft appeared in August, 1815, as an explanation of a picture exhibited for the benefit of the Waterloo Fund by the author's sister.

in human blood . . . . I cast my eyes upon the ruined novels immortalised by the achievements of my gallant countrymen . . . . Silence reigned over the field, scattered relics covered the sunburnt ground, the gates of heaven were tainted with the effluvia of death."

Byron went there a little later; but the brief record of his visit is interesting for the light thrown on his habits of composition and thought.

Byron, it appears, landed at Ostend on 26th April, bringing with him a carriage modelled on that of the fallen Emperor, Napoleon, and arranged to contain a bed, a travelling library and a small service of plate for the table. In this encyclopedic vehicle he drove on to Brussels; and, on the morning following his arrival, went in a lighter conveyance through the forest of Soignes, accompanied by the writer of the article and by Dr. Polidori, his physician. On reaching the field, he became absorbed and silent, visiting the monument of Colonel Gordon, the spot where his cousin, Major Howard, fell, and the Château of "Hougoumont," or Goumont.

Almost the only remark recorded to have been made by the poet on that occasion contains an error; for he seems to have said that Howard fell at the same time as Picton, whereas General Sir T. Picton was killed in repelling the advance of the French infantry under Erlon between 1 and 2 P.M., and Howard (Major the Hon. F.) was shot in the pursuit of the French by Vivian's cavalry between 8 and 9, when the fight was over.

In the evening the poet visited the writer of the account \* in his lodgings at Brussels, and was asked to write something in the album of his hostess, which already contained a contribution by Sir Walter Scott. To this the most ready and gracious assent was given; and Byron took charge of the volume, promising to return it on the following day. Being in so amiable a mood, he was next asked what he thought of Scott's poem on the battle: to which he replied by quoting from that now somewhat depreciated production:—

"Yes! Agincourt may be forgot  
And Cressy be an unknown spot,  
And Blenheim's name be new,  
But still in story and in song  
For many an age remembered long  
Shall live the Towers of Hougoumont  
And Field of Waterloo."

As he uttered the last words, Byron struck the book and cried: "Devil take it, my dear Scott, if that glory ever dies!"

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\* V. Anonymous article in *New Monthly Magazine* for 1829, then edited by Thomas Campbell.

Next day the lady received her album, enriched by lines, afterwards embodied in *Childe Harold* (Canto III., St. XVII, XVIII) beginning :—

“ Stop ! For thy tread is on an Empire’s dust.”

Most critics would now say that these lines, even if they stood alone, are worth more than the whole facile jingle of the author of *Marmion*. Yet it may be that the *character* of the two poets is betrayed in an inverse ratio to their artistic merit. Scott’s poem will bear resuscitation for its sincerity and manly ring. Byron’s more famous stanzas are in some measure a register of his inferior earnestness and accuracy. The twenty-first stanza refers, in stilted and high-flown phrase, to the ball in “that high hall” which was, according to Sir William Fraser’s account, only the very commonplace show-room of a coach-builder. It then proceeds to describe the march to Quatre Bras, in a passage that has been doubtless justly praised by great critics (including Scott himself). All of a sudden, without any note of transition, come the lines on Howard, and we find ourselves on the field of “Waterloo,” or rather of Mont St. Jean.

It is difficult, on ordinary principles, to account for such confusion ; but, perhaps, the narrative that we have been examining may give us a clue. It seems possible that Byron, in his silent absorption on the battle-field, did not give his attention to what he was there told ; and that he took up the notion—so generally adopted since—that it was the battle at Mont St. Jean, and final overthrow of Napoleon, to which the Duchess of Richmond’s guests marched out. In that case the engagement of the 16th between Ney and the British advanced guard must have been forgotten or tacitly ignored.

The writer of the paper in the *New Monthly* adds a curious, though prosaic, detail which may be deemed worthy of preservation. The encyclopedic carriage proving insufficient, Byron had purchased a *calèche* for the use of his followers. When the vehicle was brought for inspection by the Brussels coach-builder, it was found fault with after having, in fact, been used for the Waterloo excursion as a trial trip ; and it had to be returned. The manufacturer was indignant, and the leading Brussels journal of the day, *L’Oracle*, is said to have stated that “the noble lord had decamped owing 1,800 francs for a carriage.” The case was ultimately compromised, but not before it had caused the enemy to blaspheme in England, where Byron’s unpopularity was just then at its highest. We know the pungent words of Macaulay :—

“ His countrymen were in a bad humour with him. His writings and his character had lost the charm of novelty. He had been guilty of the offence which of all offences is punished

the most severely: he had been over-praised: and the public, with its usual justice, chastised him for its own folly."

Any stick would do to beat such a sad dog with; and the *Courier*, a Tory paper of the day, published the story in London, with additions and comments of its own. It may be well to add that an examination of the Brussels papers of the day supplies no further information on any of the questions raised here. Byron's passage through Brussels appears to have attracted no attention; and there is no record forthcoming of the residence of the Duke and Duchess of Richmond there.

The house occupied by these last appears to have stood between the Rue de la Blanchisserie and the city walls—now *Boulevard du Jardin-botanique*; and the site is now filled by a nunnery, while the subsequently constructed Rue des Cendres runs through what was then the garden. The debate between the two parties, one represented by Sir W. Fraser, the other by the latest surviving members of the Duke of Richmond's family, is as to the exact spot where the famous ball took place; Sir William contending—against Lady de Ros and Lady Louisa Tighe—that the actual dancing was in a wooden *annexe*, or supplemental building, still standing between the house and the street, which was converted into a temporary ball-room. But Lady Louisa's letter, reproduced by her niece in the *Belgian News* of July 6th, 1895; positively traverses this conjecture: "The ball was given in my father's house, and in the room which we children used as our school-room. . . I was allowed to sit up and see the ball . . . The room was a long one, with several windows looking towards the stables: it was on the ground-floor. In the garden was a house which seemed to be a store for carriages; it was some way from the house and not used by our family." That carriage store is still put to the same use, but is now separated from the convent grounds by a high wall. This is the place confidently assigned by Sir W. Fraser; and the controversy must be settled by the reader on his own view of the evidence. The coach-magazine is large enough for a dance of perhaps 200 persons; what larger room there may be concealed in the recesses of the convent, is unknown.

But, wherever the ball took place, it was not disturbed by any distant firing; and the officers who left it did not go out then and there to fight on Mont St. Jean. Exact accuracy on such points was no part of Byron's impressionist manner; nor is there anything to show that the stanzas in question were originally meant to form part of the third canto of *Childe Harold*. Although written in the same style of metre as that poem, they were evidently no more than an improvisation to please a friend, inspired by a hasty visit to the field.



Byron had always shown for Napoleon both interest and admiration. When he heard of the abdication of 1814, he at once predicted that the Powers would find that he would "play them a pass yet." Nor was the excitement confined to men of his calibre, or of his time. Quite lately, Lords Wolseley and Roberts have written on the campaign of 1815, and two American writers have produced impartial studies of the same topic.\*

With regard to the final sequestration of this grand disturber, there is a curious passage in Capefigue's *Cent Jours*, II, 119:—

"Restait enfin à fixer le lieu de sa captivité ; car il ne serait plus désormais que prisonnier d'Etat, et l'île Ste. Helène depuis longtemps indiquée, fut désignée dans les conférences du mois de mai (C'est un point à noter, ce ne fut pas la résolution inopinée et personnelle de l'Angleterre qui donna pour exil au Général Bonaparte l'île Ste. Helène ; cette résolution fut prise et formulée par un acte secret du congrès au mois de mai.)"

Thus, then, we are informed that before the campaign began, in the capital of his father-in-law and former ally, where he had once been master, and where his wife and son were even then residing, it was resolved that, if the former lord of Europe should not be knocked on the head in the coming struggle, he should be subjected to the system of State prisons established by himself in a decree of 1810. The dramatic pathos of Napoleon's situation, after his return from Elba, deepens with such thoughts as this ; and he stands out more and more titanic, the haunting spirit of our expiring age. On the other hand, the objection that he brought it on himself is partly met by the commonly heard assertion that his return from Elba was caused by information that his deportation to St. Helena was being discussed at the Congress of Vienna. It must, however, be admitted that there is yet another version of the story, namely, that Lord Castlereagh had planned the St. Helena internment as far back as the first abdication, and that for this reason the British Government had withheld its assent to the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

But, supposing it all true, it does but accentuate the great truth that Talleyrand expressed when he said that there was "some one who was cleverer than Voltaire." Napoleon had done much for France ; but he had done it without conscience, aggrandising his adopted country in a spirit of extended and glorified egotism. This, and a deep-seated cynicism of character, made him at last the antagonist of Occidental Christen-

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\* Mr. Colman Ropes, and Prof. Sloane,

dom ; and all the world proved too strong for the strongest living man.

The eagle flew northward until it perched upon the Tuileries ; but the eagle's master was never again truly established there. In June, 1815, he had not a true friend beyond his own family and a set of military desperadoes. His enemies were all who desired the peace and welfare of civilised mankind. From documents cited by the French historians, it appears as though Wellington's original idea was that the Austrians should operate on the Upper Rhine in order to draw off the attention of Napoleon, while the Anglo-Prussian army should concentrate upon the Belgian frontier and prepare to march on Paris. But so soon as the intention of the French chief was perceived, namely, to attack the Anglo-Prussian armies in Belgium (and Wellington's despatches indicate that he took this view as early as the beginning of April), a definite plan of resistance had to be prepared for them. It was then settled between Wellington and Blücher that provision should be made against the course which past experience pointed out as certain to be adopted by Napoleon. As on former occasions, he would probably thrust his forces between the opposing armies ; and it would be their business, on the other hand, to close upon him. If the French fell first on Blücher, Blücher would fall back until Wellington could act upon their left flank : if the first attack were made upon Wellington, it would be Blücher's immediate duty to bring up his troops upon the French right : if the French spread out like a fan, the allies were to close in upon them like a pair of pincers. It must, however, be borne in mind that the Duke suspected his adversary of another design.

Foreseeing combinations arising out of the former supposition—which was in accordance with his actual intentions—Napoleon devoted his strategy to their counteraction. When attacking Blücher, his left was to be protected by a strong movement under Ney : when he proceeded to crush Wellington, Grouchy was to keep off the Prussians on the right. The first of these measures was, to a considerable extent, effected ; the latter not ; and this is the epitome of all that can ever be said of the six days' war in which the greatest genius of modern time was conquered. His subordinates were wanting in ability, perhaps in zeal ; but he himself incurs the blame of neglecting details and undervaluing the talents and energies of his opponents. The state of his health was anything but what it had once been ; and his mind may well have been clouded by his position. In his rear were an incompetent Council and a hostile Parliament ; all the ablest men in Paris inimical or indifferent. His old comrades were mostly alienated ; Murat

ruined ; Massena, Macdonald and Oudinot holding aloof ; Berthier in irresolute exile, Victor and Marmont organising the Bourbonists in Belgium, Clarke Minister to Louis at Ghent. Of the generals who remained, the fidelity was doubtful, or the zeal relaxed. Bourmont, with other officers, deserted as soon as they crossed the Sambre ; Napoleon and his devoted soldiers advanced in a cloud of doubt and distrust ; treason and death were in their thoughts and words ; in the bright spring weather they moved darkling to tempest and defeat.

Under such sombre and sinister omens the modern Prometheus confronted his destiny ; and what more tragic drama can be conceived ? One fancies that even cold-hearted diplomats, Talleyrand, Metternich and company may have felt something like compassion when they looked back a few years, and remembered Napoleon at Schonbrunn, and the *embarras de rois* in the Theatre of Erfurt. The conqueror of those days was the same consummate captain who was now staggering on to an evident fall under the ban of Europe. Nothing now was left him but his strong brain and the hearts of his men ; but these, at first, sufficed him. On the 16th, the day after crossing the frontier, the French drove away from Ligny a superior force of Prussians under the fiery veteran, Blücher, while Ney held Wellington at bay and prevented him from coming to the support of his ally.

Nothing now seemed wanting to the success of Napoleon's audacious undertaking. The allied armies had been separated ; Wellington's army was scattered, that of Blücher in retreat ; Napoleon looked forward to dining at Brussels on the following evening and entering into negotiations with Austria and Russia at the head of a victorious host. But it could not be. Readers of *Vanity Fair* need not be reminded of the vivid delineation given by Thackeray—founded on the report of eye-witnesses—of the panic that agitated Brussels during the ensuing Saturday and Sunday, the false alarms of the fugitive Belgians, the swaggering of the French residents and their sympathisers, the excitement of the British visitors. One head, at least, retained its judgment ; one heart beat no faster. Wellington had promised the exile of Ghent that all should go well ; and he now undertook the fulfilment of his promise, calmly gathering his followers, the Duke fell slowly back, as once in Portugal, making his miniature Torres Vedras on the wheat-clad ridges between the Château of Goumont and the village of Ohain. He was perfectly acquainted with the movements of the Prussians ; indeed, they seem to have been known to all but the men whom they most vitally concerned. Wellington was in constant communication with Blücher ; he knew that the ardent old Marshal had, not been really routed.

at Ligny; that he had since been reinforced by Bulow; and that, instead of retreating to his base, he was concentrating on Wavre, in order to an immediate junction.\*

Unaware of this†, Napoleon, as if led by a lying spirit, was going up to battle; content with having detached his right wing with vague instructions to follow the Prussians and complete their imagined destruction. This wing was put under the command of Grouchy, and on that General the blame of all that followed has been ever since laid by Napoleon and those who have in later days adopted the legend of St. Helena. The so-called "Battle of Waterloo," therefore, cannot be understood unless we take pains to ascertain what Grouchy was, and how far he was in a capacity, by his nature and by his instructions, to afford such co-operation as might have obviated the catastrophe.‡

Those who view the scene in the usual way from the Lion-mound, Baedeker in hand, or listening to the guides, see little or nothing of importance for their instruction. The crest, which was the curtain behind which the holders of the position awaited the assaults of their enemies, has disappeared; and one side of the sunk road into which—according to Victor Hugo—the cuirassiers fell headlong, is level with the plain. The Duke of Wellington once re-visited the spot; then, declaring that his position had been obliterated, he departed and would never return. But on that Sunday morning he had his motley forces in a sort of natural earthwork of great extent, only open on the left, where he expected Blücher, and guarded in centre and to right by masonry-buildings and woods.

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\* Five bulletins were published by the authorities at Brussels up to the morning of the 19th, when at 3 A.M. the victory was definitely announced. A copy of this last is preserved by M. le Sénateur Picard, along with a spirited drawing of the charge of the cuirassiers on the allied centre, when the Prince of Orange fell wounded where the Lion now stands.

† The 3rd bulletin contained a detailed description of the plan of campaign: it was published at 7 P.M. on the 17th, and a well-wisher of Napoleon's might have carried intimation of its contents to him in time to have affected the entire result.

3rd bulletin (17th June, 7 P.M.): "At 6 o'clock we learn that Prince Blücher has moved his Head-quarters to Wavre in order to unite his corps with that of General Bulow. This movement has determined the Duke of Wellington to concentrate his forces and establish his Head-quarters at WATERLOO, so as to be in immediate readiness to effect a junction with the Prussian armies.

"(Sd.) Capellen."

[From *L'Oracle*, a Brussels paper, dated Monday, 19th June.

‡ The word "so-called" is used because the event of June 18th, 1815, did not take place at Waterloo and was not a battle. The attack of Napoleon was the attempt to storm an improvised stronghold, and Wellington perfectly succeeded in resisting the attempt until the arrival of the Prussian Marshal. The only "battle" was what took place at Plancenoit between Bulow and Napoleon's rear-guard.

To the south was the French army, flushed with its first success and expecting to succeed again. Whatever misgivings may have haunted the men and their mighty leader when they crossed the frontier on the 15th, were hushed for the time, as they looked forward to the loot of Brussels after a brush with the Anglo-Belgian army. All night a tempest of rain fell on the hosts lying on the heights between which runs the road from Charleroi to the capital. Napoleon broke his fast at the farm-house of Le Caillon, on a table which may still be seen there, as the sun rose on the cornfields reeking with the night's tempest and still shaded by thick mists, when Ney came in with the news that Wellington's force was invisible and probably retreating into the forest that lay between Waterloo and Brussels. Napoleon answered: "Your eyes have deceived you (*vous avez mal vu*) ; they cannot escape now ; it is too late." His only anxiety, therefore, was to catch the despised enemy and sweep him from the path. To make doubly sure, however, Grouchy should be called in to protect the right ; and, accordingly, a mounted officer was sent off bearing a letter from Soult to that effect. Much, if not everything, was, in truth, to depend upon the action of this right wing ; and its arrival should have been as much secured by the French leaders as the arrival of Blücher had been guaranteed by Wellington and his colleagues, Baron Muffling and Count Pozzo di Borgo. But the gods were weary of the terrible Titan ; he was no longer even true to himself, and men were ceasing to serve him accordingly. The right wing could not be recalled.

The Marquis de Grouchy was an old soldier and an old republican ; he had fought against the royalists of the Vendée in 1793, and had entered Bantry Bay as second-in-command to Hoche. Distinguished for his gallant conduct in many a famous field, from Hohenlinden to Leipsic, he had adhered to Napoleon through good and evil, had covered the retreat from Germany in 1813, and was now fresh from the suppression of a royalist rising in the South of France. It is hard to suppose that a man with that record could suddenly become a traitor to the chief whose person he had guarded during the retreat from Moscow ; but he was a nobleman of the old school, punctilious, unoriginal, deficient in initiative. Such was the officer to whom—some sixteen hours after the battle of Ligny was over—the task was assigned of "pursuing the enemy with a sword in his reins, and never losing sight of him." Grouchy, in fact, never gained that sight : encumbered by saturated ground and misled by false information, he led his thirty thousand men from Ligny to Gembloux and from Gembloux to Wavre, as much lost to his master, as if, in that master's vivid Italian phrase, they had all been swallowed by an earthquake.

The rest of the story is well known from the labours of Jomini, Brialmont, Chesney, Hooper, Ropes and other more or less able and impartial historians, differing in some details, but mostly yielding the same result. After sending off the officer with the letter to Grouchy—it is said that this messenger strayed into the Marshal's camp at seven in the evening far gone in liquor—Napoleon rode on for about a kilometer, and halted at an elevated point known as the Butte de Rosomme. Hence he could command the whole field, as the mist was lifting under the sunbeams of a summer morning; and he surveyed a scene which may well have filled him with pride and joy. The light was reflected by the casques and bayonets, the sabres and cuirasses of seventy thousand veterans; four columns in the first line, four in the second, and three in the third. In spite of the heavy ground, the cavalry took up their positions with precision, twelve squadrons of light horse on the right of the first line, twelve on the flank of the second, in rear twenty-four squadrons of Kellermann's men-in-armour with long straight swords, and twenty-four other squadrons commanded by Milhaud; while behind all were ranged the horse, grenadiers, lancers, and chasseurs of the mounted guard: the reserve, consisting of twenty-four battalions of foot-guards, was escorted by the division of light-cavalry commanded by Subervie. Such was the spectacle that greeted the eye of Napoleon between ten and eleven, as he stood upon the height of Rosomme and awaited the moment when the ground should be dry enough to allow of the advance of his artillery, nearly 250 pieces.

From the heights of Mont St. Jean Wellington also beheld the martial show, the finest that even he had ever seen. His own army was not comparable, either in number or in professional quality; in fact, he once spoke impatiently of it as "the most infamous army" that he had ever commanded. Napoleon, too, despised them; strong in the devotion of his own splendid force, and with a far superior artillery, he began the attack on Goumont and the right of the Anglo-Belgian position about 11-30. This was followed by the attempt to turn the left which ended in the repulse of the French by Picton and the frantic charge of the Union-Brigade under Ponsonby, in which the British lost both those leaders. About one o'clock Bulow's leading columns became visible on the French right; and Lobau's corps was detached to observe and restrain Bulow. Three hours later almost Napoleon was obliged to go to Lobau's aid; and the defenders of the ridge were proportionately relieved; not only were some 20,000 of their assailants diverted, but the attack ceased to be directed by the great captain. In his absence Ney squandered the

heavy cavalry. At 7 P.M. Napoleon, having driven Bulow back from Plancenoit, returned to the field, to find his cavalry decimated and disordered, with the whole Prussian army appearing on his right front, and Grouchy nowhere.

With what feelings he formed his last reserves of foot at La Belle Alliance and sent those bronzed veterans up the British slope under Ney, each must fancy for himself.\* Glaring out of their bearskins, with colours flying and bands playing, the deep ranks of the Guard ascended the slope with fierce outcries, but as if on parade; but the shaven-faced boys behind the ridge were not easily intimidated. They had lost the match, so Napoleon always said; only they did not know the rules, and now they stood erect supported by two divisions of cavalry and numerous guns. The Guard never deployed; and, after a stubborn attempt, were swept down into the Charleroi Causeway; the Prussians, under Ziethen, came down from the high ground by Ohain; Bulow pressed forward from Plancenoit; the retreat became a rout, the Prussian drums drove the French all night.

An attempt has been made by some writers to represent Napoleon as already wrecked in mind and in body, a corpulent poltroon who fled from the field on which he ought to have laid down this life amongst those devoted followers. But this is an unworthy view. Napoleon was no mere soldier, "whose business 'tis to die:" he was a politician, on whose safety might hang the future of France. It is only after his return from the campaign that his character appears to break down his conduct to waver and his survival to lack justification. He was not an old man as years go, and his mere physical strength bore up well against the most frightful fatigue. But *quantum mutatus*; what a mental fall, what irresolution in so great a mind! First, he would stop at Laon, and collect his forces: next day he must go to Paris and make one more appeal to the public. Then, he is for dissolving the Chambers and assuming a dictatorship; before a week is over he has abdicated! He spends a few days at La Malmaison, and offers his sword to the Republic as a private soldier; then prepares to depart for the western coast to steal a march on the British cruisers and make off to the United States. This being a matter in which the strictest secrecy is required, the illustrious fugitive travels in semi-state, holds audiences and reviews; and, when he gets to Rochefort, discusses the means of evasion

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\* These feelings were expressed by the French officers on board the *Northumberland*: "L'infanterie Anglaise," they said, "nous a frappés d'étonnement" (Warden). It is, however, probable that Napoleon was not easily excited or depressed. The same author—himself a medical man—tells us that the ex-Emperor's pulse never beat more than 62.

until all chance of evasion is gone. When no alternative remains, he surrenders at discretion, writing a theatrical letter to the Prince Regent, as if he thought that one Power alone could dispose of a question that had been settled in a general congress.

But, when all that has been admitted, Napoleon remains the most imposing figure of our century, and his fall an incident of tragic wonder, as much to us as he seemed to Byron.

H. G. KEENE.



## ART. VII.—THE BENGALEE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

“*BANGABHASHA O SAHITYA*” is the title of a Bengalee work by Babu Dinesha Chandra Sen, B.A., Headmaster of the Victoria School, Comilla, on the history of the Bengalee Language and Literature. It is a neat, handy volume, running through 403 octavo pages, replete with information of the highest value to students who take any interest in the past of the Bengalee races or in their Literature. The author wisely limits himself to the period before the introduction of English education in Bengal ; for the influence of Western culture has, during the last fifty years, developed literature of a very different kind from that of the period preceding. The literature of that period was poetry, and of this is prose ; that was religious, this is mostly secular ; that moved in narrow grooves, but this embraces a much wider range of subjects. Dinesh Babu has confined himself to the former, less known, but very interesting period.

There are many still alive who remember the triangular duel between the Anglicists, the Orientalists and the Vernacularists which ended in the Resolution of the Government of India that high education in this country should be imparted through the medium of English and that the vernaculars should be encouraged. There are many still alive who remember the day on which the first great prose work, entitled the *Vetalapanchavinsati*, in Bengalee, was published by Pandit Isvara Chandra Vidyasagara, thus creating a new epoch in the history of the Bengalee literature. Of the men who worked hard for the new literature, some are still alive and some have lately passed away. The history of this period is well known and need not be written at the present moment. But quite different is the case with the history of the period just preceding it. Printing presses were unknown in those days. Works of great merit were often written ; but, unless professional musicians took them up, their circulation was very slow and often confined to particular localities. The work of collecting information about this period is one of extreme difficulty, and the difficulty has been multiplied tenfold by the neglect and obscurity to which these works were consigned by people intoxicated with the new knowledge imparted through the medium of English. It reflects great credit on the scholar who undertakes researches in this department.

The most noted name in this branch of research is that of

Dr. G. A. Grierson, C.S., C.I.E. His work on the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan, published as an extra number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is a magnificent production. But it is concerned with Hindi literature alone. Since the publication of that work in 1889, many Bengalee scholars have been anxious to bring out a similar work for their own language and literature, and many have been working on this line. The first of such works that appeared was a small pamphlet on the Vernacular Literature of Bengal before the introduction of English education, by the then Bengal Librarian. It was a *catalogue raisonné* of ancient Bengalee literature, printed and published up to that date. It opened the way, and an active search for Bengalee manuscripts began in various quarters, led by that admirably useful body of learned men, the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Many private individuals also devoted themselves to the work. The Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad, or Bengal Academy of Literature, was started with this as one of its special objects. But by tacit consent it was agreed that one scholar should be entrusted with the work of compiling and digesting the information already collected, and Babu Dinesha Chandra, whose enthusiasm and earnestness in the matter was an object of admiration to all concerned, took it up. Every one helped him with the result of his researches. For the first time in the history of Bengalee literature, all jealousy, obstructionism and petty feelings were set aside to enable him to produce a great work. Whoever reads Dinesh Babu's preface with care will be struck with the modest, yet straightforward, dignified, yet grateful, acknowledgment of the services he has received from his collaborators.

In one sense Babu Dinesh's work was much harder than Dr. Grierson's. Dr. Grierson had histories of Literature in the Vernacular to serve as a basis, but the Babu had nothing worthy of the name. He had to collect MSS. either himself or through friends; to read them; to classify them, and to digest them. The remoteness of his residence, in an out-of-the-way corner of Bengal, was a great drawback to him. It entailed a great deal of correspondence on him, and the progress of his work was often hindered by the dilatoriness of correspondents. But he has surmounted all these and other difficulties, and is now before the public. The public, in its turn, has received him kindly and his work is appreciated. He is a young man of about thirty years of age and he has already made his mark.

So much about the author and his work. We will now examine the subject-matter of his book. In doing so, we shall treat of the Bengalee character, Bengalee language and

Bengalée Literature separately. Babu Dinesha Chandra has not said much about the first; but it is one of the most interesting of subjects to all who care for the past history of Bengalée.

It has now been settled beyond the possibility of doubt that the Indian alphabet is of foreign origin. The oldest Hindu alphabet, known as the *Brāhmilipi*, or Asoka character, with its forty-six letters, was derived from the Semitic alphabet of twenty-two characters. The *Brāhmilipi* was used by Asoka in his inscriptions within India proper. The character was the same throughout, from Mysore to the sources of the Jumna. The *Brāhmilipi* developed in about a thousand years, and, for want of a better name, was known as the *Guptalipi*, or the character used in their inscriptions by the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Kusumpur.

This character, though essentially one throughout Northern India, exhibited many slight local peculiarities. With the fall of the Gupta empire, it developed into three distinct geographical varieties, *Saradā* in the west, *Sriharsha* in the middle, and *Kutīla* in the east. *Saradā* is the father of the ancient and modern Kashmiri, Gurumukhi and Sindhi. Here it must, however, be noted that in Kangra and the adjacent valleys they still write a character much nearer to the *Guptalipi* than to any other alphabet, ancient or modern. The *Sriharsha* alphabet in Central India was a short-lived one, and rapidly gave place to the various *Nagari*s, one specially developed variety of which is known as the *Devanāgarī*, or the Shastri alphabet used by Brahmins in writing their sacred works in the divine language. It may be noted here that a character closely resembling *Sriharsha*'s is still used in Tibet for writing Sanskrit. The *Kutīla* held its sway in Eastern India throughout the period of the ascendancy of the Buddhist Pal Kings of Magadha, and was extensively used in writing manuscripts and inscriptions throughout Eastern India, from Kalinga to Nepal and from Benares to Assam. Manuscripts in this character have been found in Nepal, written both in that country and in Bengal about the 11th century A.D. From the time of the Muhammedan conquest *Kutīla* began to develop local varieties. The *Uriya* character is essentially *Kutīla*, only with round tops, or *Mātrās*. The *Uriya* people used to write on palm-leaves with an iron pen (with a sharp end) known as a style, or *Khunti*. Horizontal *matras* were calculated to break their writing material, the palm-leaves, the fibres of which run lengthwise. The *Uriyas*, therefore, were adverse to horizontal lines, and took readily to rounded tops. The *Bengalees*, on the other hand, used to write with bamboo pens the tops of which were cut, not at right angles to the central line, but in a slanting manner. With such a pen it was extremely

difficult to write the letters which in Kutila were formed by curves or circles. So curves were changed into angles and circles into triangles. The Bengalees had no difficulty with such a pen in drawing horizontal lines on palm-leaves.

The Assamese is simply a variety of the Bengalee which preserves some of the old archaic forms of the Bengalee and Kutila characters. Ancient Maithili and ancient Bengalee differed but very slightly. Unless one had considerable experience in ancient palæography, it would be impossible for him to distinguish between Bengalee and Maithili manuscripts written in the 14th century. The modern Maithili is a compromise between Bengalee and Devanagari. The Nepalese still preserves some of the hooked tops of the old Kutila character ; and it also preserves some of its curves and circles.

The oldest manuscripts written in the Bengalee character are to be found in Cambridge. They were collected in Nepal, and were written in the years 1198, 1199 and 1200 A. D. by Sri Gayākara. They are Tāntrik works on Buddhism. It is a curious coincidence that these manuscripts were written in the years of the Muhamedan conquest of Behar and Bengal. In one of them the kingdom of Govindapaladeva, the last of the Pal Kings of Magadha—their empire having been long since overthrown by the *Senas*—is represented as *Vinashita*, or destroyed. Now, the custom of the scribes generally is to write, at the end of the manuscripts copied by them, the name of the king and the year of his victorious reign ; but in this case it is not the "victorious reign" that is celebrated, but the "destroyed reign." There are some ancient Bengalee manuscripts in the Sanskrit College Library, and there are others, noticed by the late Rājā Rajendra Lal Mitra, which belonged to the first century of the Muhammedan conquest. The Pal and Sena kings had no coins of their own. The initial coinage of Bengal belonged to the Muhammedans. Following their example, the King of Tipperah began to coin money, with legends in Bengalee, in the first and second centuries of the Muhammedan conquest. We have not yet obtained any very old Bengalee inscriptions.

The origin of the Bengalee language is lost in obscurity. The lexicon of modern Bengalee contains a very large infusion of Sanskrit words ; but the grammar is Persian and Prakrit, and the pronunciation follows that of the Pali language. We form our plural of oblique cases by *digake*, *दिगके*, or *der*, *देर* ; but, if we examine this inflection closely, we find that it is a contraction of "*digarke*." *Digar* is a Persian word denoting plurality, and some old-fashioned people still write "*tomār digar ke*," "*āmār digarer*," for what we ordinarily write

as "tomādigake," "āmārdiger." But ancient Bengalee is free from this Persian inflection.

But how old is the language? Babu Dinesh Chandra says that it originated during the time when the Pal kings held sway in Bengal, and, as instances, he adduces "Mānik Chandrer Gān," published in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the year 1878, p. 149, as the oldest specimen of Bengalee. He also says that the proverbs known as "Khanār bachan" or "Dāk purushar bachan" belong to this very ancient period. As regards the antiquity of the agricultural sayings of Khanā, or the pithy and useful proverbs of Dākpurusha, there can be no doubt. But the Mānik Chandrer gān is open to doubt.

Babu Dinesh Chandra has not taken cognisance of the fact that we actually have a work of literature which is referred to the reign of the son of King Dharmapal, one of the earliest rulers of the Pal dynasty. This is the famous series of poems known as "Darmathākurer gān," "Dharmamangal," or "Dharmāyan." In European literature we find scarcely any poet writing a second poem on a subject already treated by his predecessors. But in India the case is different. Several poets have written on the life and adventures of Rāma. In Bengal this habit has developed greatly. We find as many Satyapirer gān as there are districts. The number of Manasār Bhāsān is legion. Babu Dinesh Chandra has already enumerated thirty-one poets who have written in honour of Manashā, the goddess of serpents, and it may be confidently asserted that his enumeration is not exhaustive. Similarly, we have a very large number of Dharmathākurer gān. Six of them are well known, namely, those by Mayurbhatta, Ghanaram, Rupram, Khelaram, Mānik Ganguli and Ram Chand Banerjee. The last five are all modern writers belonging to the 16th, 17th, or 18th centuries; but they are unanimous in saying that Mayurbhatta is the first poet who wrote on the glories of Dharma. They also all unanimously declare that Rāmāi Pandita, a Bayiti by caste, was the man who regulated the worship of Dharma. The worshippers of Dharma all over Bengal declare that they have received the process of worship from the same Rāmāi Pandita. Several of the formulas of worship, written in curious Bengalee, with the signature of Rāmāi Pandita appended to them, have recently been collected; and we have at last succeeded, after a good deal of trouble, in getting a bad copy of a fragment of Rāmāi Pandit's *paddhati*, or handbook of worship.

The language of the formula is peculiarly curious. The poverty of expression; the repetition of the same idea in the same form and the same words, shows that they were composed

at a very early stage of the development of the language. Some of Rāmāi Pandit's formulæ may, however, be attributed to a period when Buddhism was the prevailing religion in Western Bengal ; probably to the very period when Dharmapal and his immediate successors held sway. But it would be premature to say much at present about an author very few of whose compositions have come to our notice. One thing is sure, *viz.*, that the Dharma literature embodies the earliest traditions of the non-Brahminic population of Bengal, of a period when the influence of the Brahmins was but very little felt. It may be that this literature and the worship that it celebrates is a survival of the once famous and widely-spread Buddhism in India.

With the increase of the influence of the Brahmins in Bengal, the language received a new development. Sanskrit words, Sanskrit ideas and Sanskritised phrases began to be imported into a poor form of Prakrit, or perhaps a neglected patois of the Pali language. At the end of the 12th century the Muhammedans conquered Bengal ; but their influence upon the language was very little felt for centuries. The Hindus, or rather the literate class among them, rarely mixed with Musalmans, rarely borrowed their words, and still more rarely borrowed their ideas. During the whole of the early Muhammedan period the Bengalee language remained in close alliance with Sanskrit. This relationship became even more intimate with the great revival of Sanskrit literature in the 15th century, which ended in the establishment of the Navadip University and the independence of Bengalee pundits from the thralldom of Mithila. The reformation of Chaitanya helped greatly the development of the language ; but this development also was Sanskritic, the difference being that the followers of Chaitanya borrowed words from one branch of Sanskrit literature, while the Pundits borrowed from another branch. The great study of the Pundits was Hindu law, Hindu ritual and Hindu philosophy, while the study of Chaitanya and his followers was chiefly confined to belles lettres and light literature. We owe the philosophical terms used in Bengalee to the Pundits and the words relating to love and devotion to the Vaishnavas. The Vaishnavas were a travelling people ; while the Pundits moved but very rarely. The Vaishnavas, wherever they went, mixed with all classes of people, while the Pundits, in the few instances in which they travelled, moved only among Pundits. In this way the Vaishnavas introduced a stock of words from the current vernaculars of India also of the period. So, from an early period three different styles of writing prevailed in Bengal—one that used by the non-Hindu population, who delighted in

singing long poems in honour of Dharma, Manasha, or Chandi ; the second, the highly Sanskritised style used by Brāhmins, who translated the Rāmāyan, the Mahābhārat and the Purāns ; and the third, the less Sanskritised, though exceedingly harmonious, style of the Vaishnavas.

This state of things continued till the period of the Mughal conquest. With that conquest, Persian became the Court language of Bengal, and its study became essentially necessary to those who wanted preferment in the administration. Gradually the court language filtered down even to the lowest classes of the population, and a large influx of Persian words was the result of the influence of Mughal civilisation in Bengal. This influence of the Persian on Bengalee is so great that it has modified even the grammatical structure of the language to a considerable extent. The religious classes, however, stood completely aloof from this influence. Translations from Sanskrit made during the Mughal period exhibit but few traces of Persian. But all original works were subject to Persian influence ; and Kabikankan and Bhāratchandra are both full of Persian words that were current in their time.

At the time of the British conquest three distinct styles of writing prevailed in Bengal ; 1. The Sanskritised style of the Pundits and the Vaishnavas ; 2. The highly Persianised style of the Court-going people ; 3. The language of what was known as the *bishailok*, or ordinary gentlemen. The last was the real Bengalee. It used neither hard Sanskrit terms, nor hard Persian terms. It used only such terms as were then current among the people, irrespective of their origin. The first was called the *sādhubhāshā*, the second the Court language, the third the *bhāshā*. The ancient translation of Smṛiti works is the best example of the *sādhubhāshā* used in Bengal. It was a style understood all over India ; it was Sanskrit without inflections. Mussalmani Bangla works of the time afford the best examples of the highly Persianised style. The songs of the Kabiwalas, the bands of minstrels, who delighted in wit-combats, were examples of the best style in the *bhāshā*, or ordinary language.

But a change came over the spirit of the language with the introduction of English education. Along with the English language, the Government resolved upon encouraging the study of the vernacular, and for that purpose some eminent scholars, who had received their education in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, were entrusted with the task of writing works in the vernacular. The Calcutta Sanskrit College, in the middle of this century, was an institution neither popular nor respected. There were many eminent Pundits in it ; but they were looked down upon by the Pundits of independent *taluk* throughout the

country, because they accepted service under *Mlechhas*. The course of studies in that institution used to be prescribed by eminent Orientalists, such as Horace Wilson, Trevelyan and others; and it differed widely from that current in the *tols*. The scholars of the Sanskrit College were out of all touch with the Pundits of the country; and, when they were entrusted with the work of manufacturing vernacular books, they simply imported a huge number of unknown Sanskrit words, took off their inflections, and put them into sentences. The Educational Department helped the circulation of these books; and all the three different styles that were current in the early part of the century were swept away and obliterated under the influence of the Sanskrit College style. What was studied as the vernacular was neither the vernacular which the students knew, nor the vernacular current among any class in the country. This unnatural state of things, however, could not last. It collapsed on account of the excess of its absurdity; and Sir George Campbell's caustic remarks on Sanskritised vernaculars sounded its death-knell. Educated people began to look about for an intelligible style of writing. Some thought that the language current amongst the masses was the language for literature, and these produced works like "*Hutom penchār naksha*." That, again, was considered to be rather vulgar by another class of writers, who perhaps knew better. They took the conversational style prevalent among the higher and better class of society as their model. But this they soon found to be insufficient. Some, again, began to borrow extensively from the language of their rulers, and this they did to such a ridiculous extent that the authors became a laughing stock to the people.

Gradually people came to their senses. They found that, in order to form a good Bengalee style, the study merely of Sanskrit, or of Persian, or of English would not do; that, before coining words or borrowing from other languages, they should examine the capabilities of their own language and literature. And they were surprised to find that they had an extensive literature which might help them in forming a good style. With the knowledge of this fact arose a national desire for the study of this literature, and the search for works in ancient Bengalee began in earnest.

Babu Dinesh Chandra deserves the hearty thanks of all those who are interested in the study of Bengalee literature and are anxious to form a style that shall be at once dignified and intelligible, easy and flowing, expressive and full of sense.

The Brahmins are regarded as a very conservative people. They rarely change their manners and customs; they rarely change their habits. Why was it, then, that these very Brah-



mins took upon themselves at an early period the task of creating a vernacular literature? This is a problem which is very difficult to solve. In the 12th and 13th centuries and earlier the number of Brahmins in Bengal was small, and their field of work in Hinduising the population was vast. Sanskrit afforded them a vast field of study and authorship, nor were they backward in writing Sanskrit works and studying Sanskrit literature. What was the reason, then, that induced them to take to the hated vernacular? The point is one on which it is very difficult to hazard an opinion.

But it may be surmised that the Brahmins had an object in what they did. They were brought to Bengal, it appears, with two political objects, *viz.*, 1. The spread of Hinduism; and, 2. The suppression of its great rival, the current Buddhism of the day. The Sena kings were their great allies in their endeavour to secure both these objects. But the rule of the Sena kings came to a violent and abrupt end through an unforeseen event. The higher form of Buddhism was already at a discount. Its monks and lay-professors were flourishing in foreign countries, far away from their original home, now in the hands of their enemies. Brahmins of Bengal and Mithila wrote books expressly with the object of suppressing Buddhism, with such titles as *Bauddha dhikkar*, Fie to the Buddhists, and with such objects as *prachandapashandata-mastitirshyah*, *i.e.*, dispelling the darkness produced by fierce non-believers. The Sena kings used to grant lands to Brahmins in perpetuity in close proximity to Buddhist monasteries. The Buddhists were ridiculed in poetic compositions and execrated in public. The very sight of a Buddhist was considered an occasion for performing expiatory ceremonies. All this can be seen in the literature of the Sena period.

The Buddhists were fallen, ruined, but not altogether gone. The lower class population, the masses of Bengal, the dumb millions, were not yet all Hindus. The object of the Brahmins was only half attained, while the Muhammedan conquest put an end to their political power. The conquest staggered them for a while. The thirteenth century was barren of literary productions; but it was not a difficult task for the shrewd Hindu to gauge thoroughly the Muhammedan character in the course of a century. They easily saw the weakness of the early Muhammedan rulers. It was not difficult for them to see that these were a rude people, who cared more for personal enjoyment than social, religious, or political reformation. As soon as they discovered this, they engaged again, with renewed vigour, in the pursuit of their original object, *i.e.*, the spread of Hinduism amongst the masses; but under greatly altered circumstances. They had not the king with them. Anything

they attempted, they must accomplish by their own exertions. The lower classes had their teachers, like Rāmāi Pandit and Birup, the sage belonging to the *Dom* caste, mentioned by Taranath, the Tibetan monk who wrote a history of Buddhism in India. They had also their own legends and traditions, embodied in their vernacular and sung by their own minstrels. In order to create an influence amongst these people, the Brahmins, shorn of their political power, must needs have recourse to persuasion, *i.e.*, speaking to them in their own language. The masses must be made to understand Hindu shastras, to realise Hindu ideals. Hindu notions and theories must be brought home to them. How could this be done?

Some Brahmins took to their form of worship and set up images of *Manashā*, the goddess of serpents, and Mangal-chandi, the dispenser of blessings, and easily made their fortune. In the 15th century the worship of these two deities was regarded as the shortest way to wealth by Brahmins, and Chaitanyadeva, in the earliest stage of his career as reformer, was advised by many to worship them. Other Brahmins, again, thought the worshipping of aboriginal deities rather derogatory, and so they began to translate Sanskrit works into the vernacular. If there is any truth in the statement contained in pp. 67, 68, 69 of Babu Dinesh Chandra's book, regarding the encouragement received by Kīrttibasa, the first Bengalee translator of Sanskrit works, from a Hindu Rajah, perhaps the founder of the Hindu dynasty which, for a short time, destroyed the Muhammedan rule in Bengal, it simply shows how these translations were appreciated in those days.

Seeing that the vernacular would be a means of reaching the hearts of the masses and thereby extending their influence, they took to it with enthusiasm. We hear of the translation of many Sanskrit works in the 15th century. Bijay Pandita translated the *Mahābhārata*; Guṇārāja Khan translated the *Bhāgavata*, and so on. The ideal presented to the masses by these translations went a great way in checking the spread of any aboriginal or indigenous religion of Bengal. But in provinces where the Muhammedans had the upper hand, the conversion of masses to Muhammedanism was very rapid. Some scholars are of opinion that the masses in East and Central Bengal, who professed either a low form of Buddhism, or an aboriginal religion, were easily converted to Muhammedanism, as they had no sympathy with the various restrictions imposed upon every-day life by the Brahmins, and as they were conscious that the Brahmins would never treat them on an equal footing, which the Muhammedans were always ready to do. It was the great merit of Chaitanya that he arrested, on the one hand, the progress of

Muhammedanism in Bengal, and the Tantrik mysticism, on the other. In fact, the Brahmins were powerful enough to check the spread of any form of religion which found a *Dom* or *Bayti* for its priest ; but they were powerless against the preachers of a vigorous and simple faith like that of the Muhammedans. Chaitanya's faith had the advantage of being simple and exceedingly attractive. It was more than a match for Muhammedanism, in spite of all the political power at its back. It effectually checked the wholesale conversion to Muhammedanism. It spread its influence over Hindus and Muhammedans alike, and it took the lower classes under its special protection. The literature of Chaitanya bears the impress of his faith and his character. It is charming, attractive and persuasive.

The Brahmins who joined Chaitanya wrote in Sanskrit, or translated from Sanskrit. All original works in this literature belonged to other castes than Brahmins.

While the progress of Chaitanya literature was rapid and widespread, the Brahmins were not absolutely silent. They were either writing Hindu works in Sanskrit, or translating them from Sanskrit. Thus, in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries we have Hindu literature running on two parallel lines, that of the Brahmins, and that of the Vaishnavas. In the 19th century the Brahmins have simply changed the style of their translations. They were formerly metrical, but now they are in prose. The Vaishnavas still continue their metrical compositions, and some of their best poets belong to the 19th century.

Babu Dinesh Chandra has followed a strictly chronological arrangement, dividing Bengalee literature into several definite periods. This arrangement has both its advantages and its disadvantages, and, owing to the inveterate habit of the Bengalee poets of writing again and again on the same subject, the disadvantages of the Babu's system of arrangement are greater than the advantages. The more rational course would have been to treat of the literature of each cult separately, and that in chronological order. In that case Bengalee literature would have been divided into the literature of the *Dharma* cult, of the *Manasa* cult, of the *Chandi* cult, of the *Siva* cult, of the *Vaishnava* cult, and of the Brahmins. The non-religious works, which are not of much importance, might have come at the end under the head of miscellaneous. It would thus have been easier to remember the names of authors and books, and to study the works belonging to each cult or sect separately, and to trace the progress of society and of ideas among the various sectariats in the most reliable of records—records left by members of their own

sects ; to note how the language changed from Mayura-Bhatta to Khelaram, from Khelaram to Ghanaram, and from him, again, to Manik Gangulie ; how many un-Hindu ideas were eliminated in the course of time from the Dharmā-cult literature, and how new experiences and new ideas found a place in it.

Many curious instances of these changes may be noted. In the Rāmāyana, for instance, composed by a Vaishnava poet in the middle of the present century, all *Sākta* stories and ideas have been left out. Rām does not worship Durga, as in the current editions of Krittivas's works, before the final overthrow of Rāvana ; but he achieves the destruction of Ravana and his followers by his own power. The exile of Sītā ; the war between Rāma and his unknown sons ; the expulsion of Lakshmana, appeared to be rather cruel facts to the tender-hearted and sweet-tempered Vaishnava poet, and he dropped them altogether. His Rāmāyana ends in a curious way ; Rāma and Sītā entering an *Asoka* grove, which may be compared with the Paradise of the Jews, the *Sukkhāvati* of Buddhists and the *Vrindavana* of the followers of Chaitanya, that is, a place for the enjoyment of final beatitude.

If such liberties could be taken by a Vaishnava and a nineteenth century poet with respect to such a well-known epic as the Ramayana, it may very well be imagined that greater liberties have been taken with respect to less known works. As has been previously stated, there are thirty-one works on Manasa, the story being in every case the same. Dwija Vansidas, writing from East Bengal in the fifteenth century, gives an account of a sea-voyage that was prolonged for more than fifteen days beyond Ceylon ; and he gives us a grand description of the great Indian Ocean in a storm. People writing after this century, on the other hand, stop at Ceylon, because, as we know from history, the high seas in the sixteenth century were swept over by Portuguese fleets, and the timid Bengalee gave up the bolder venture. Later works, again, do not go even so far as Ceylon ; they limit their voyages to some much nearer place on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. The lay in honour of the goddess of serpents, written by Bipradas Peppalai in the year 1495, contains a glorious description of the City of Satgaon, the emporium, in those days, of sea-borne trade in Bengal. But from the lays written in subsequent centuries the description of that city gradually disappears.

If all the works of these various cults were brought together and studied in a strictly chronological order, a good deal of information about changes of manners, customs and religion, and about political and social revolutions, might be obtained.

It may here be noted that a Chittāgong compiler has brought

together the best chapters of the works on *Manasa* by twenty-two different poets and published them in a work entitled "Bais Kabir Manasa." The study of this work alone will, however, be productive of no good result. It is rather calculated to do some mischief to historical study by bringing together things and events of very different periods. The best arrangement for a history of ancient Bengalee literature is to treat the different cults chronologically, and then, under each cult, to treat of the various works also in chronological order. Babu Dinesh has not followed this order, and consequently his book is likely to confound beginners. He has, without much consideration, imported what is an excellent thing for English literature into Bengalee.

Most of the Bengalee poets known up to the time of the publication of Babu Dinesha Chandra's book belonged to the Rârha country, or Western Bengal ; and hence an opinion prevailed among the educated classes that East Bengal contributed little, if at all, to the development of the Bengalee language or literature. Some thought that, before the present generation, there were no poets in that part of the country, and that Babu Nobin Chandra Sen was the first poet who hailed from it. But, thanks to the exertions of Babu Dinesh and his associate, Babu Akrur Chandra Sen, we have now got a host of very ancient poets from the East ; and these were all Brahmanical writers, not one of them belonging to any particular cult.

Sanjya and Kabindra Paramesvara translated the whole of the Mahabharata, the first in the fifteenth century, and the second under the patronage of one of the generals of Alauddin Hussain Shâha, of Bengal, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Their language is fully Sanskritised, and little trace of the real ancient Bengalee, is to be found there. Srikrâ Nandi also wrote under the patronage of a Muhammedan general, and he translated only a portion of the Mahâbhârata. He followed the style of writing of his predecessor Paramesvara. In the West the Brahmanical poets were, for more than two centuries, cast into shade by their more successful contemporaries, the followers of Chaitanya, and these were the leaders in Bengalee literature. But the case in the East was different. There were very few Vaishnava poets in that part of the country. The writers were, as a rule, Brahmanical. They translated the Purânas—the Nârada Purana, Harivansa, Brahma Vaivartta Purâna, Bayu Purân, Garuda Purâna, Kalika Purâna, Padma Purân, and so on. They translated Sanskrit poems like the Naishada Charita, and they wrote such instructive religious poems as Mâyâtimira Chandrikâ, *i.e.*, moonlight to dispel the darkness of illusion. In East Bengal, we find the only Bengalee poem in honor of Siva, namely, Mrigalabdha

by Ratideva, and also by Raghu Deva. This is a very ancient work, and it reminds us of the Bengalee phase of the struggle between Buddhism and Saivism, in which the latter was invariably successful.

The Eastern people showed a many-sided activity in propagating the Brahmanic faith. They wrote *Sakuntalá*, *Prahlád Charita*, *Indradyumna Upakhyána*, stories from the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*; and, as a rule, the Eastern people were stricter Hindus than their brethren in the West. It is a matter of very great regret that the works of these authors were so long unknown. To have neglected poets who did so much for the good of their country and their religion, is evidence of a serious defect in the national character of the Hindus. Now that they have been brought to light, we hope the people will show their due appreciation of them by studying them carefully.

In the matter of the Eastern poets, Babu Dinesh Chandra deserves the credit of a discoverer. He has laid bare one stratum of thought, and one phase of authorship, the value of which cannot be over-rated. His services in respect to Vaishnava literature, too, are very great. His search has brought to light many important works. But we reserve the consideration of the Vaishnava literature for the present.

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## ART. VIII.—THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

1. *Anthropology of the Todas and Kotas of the Nilgiri Hills ; and of the Brāhmans, Kammdlans, Pallis and Pariahs of Madras City.* By Edgar Thurston, C. M., Z. S., Superintendent, Madras Government Museum. Madras : 1896.
2. *Anthropology of the Badagas and Irulas of the Nilgiris, and of the Paniyans of Malabar.* By Edgar Thurston, Superintendent, Madras Government Museum. Madras : 1897.

THE numerous races, castes and tribes which inhabit Southern India had not hitherto been studied with that degree of minuteness and specialisation that were required for the advancement of existing knowledge about their origin, early history, traditions and religion. What was known regarding these interesting peoples was contained in such works as Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nilgiris*, King's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiris*, &c. But this knowledge, though based on original observations, and, as such, very valuable, did not come up to the standard of scientific accuracy demanded by the New Anthropology, which, according to its modern acceptation, comprises the cognate sciences of Anthropography and Ethnography.

The former branch of Anthropology treats of man and the varieties of the human family from a purely physical point of view, that is, from a structural and functional aspect ; recording the measurements of various parts of his body, his cephalic index, bigoniac, bizygomatic, nasal index, facial angle, &c., &c. ; while the latter branch deals with him as a social and intellectual being, enquiring into his manners, customs, institutions, history, traditions, language, religion, intellectual aptitudes, industries, arts, &c. The knowledge hitherto existing regarding the castes and tribes of Southern India was of an ethnographical character, while hardly anything was known about their physical characteristics. The study of these tribes and castes, from a strictly anthropological point of view, has therefore been rendered all the more necessary, that similar enquiries have been set on foot in other parts of India. In Bengal the prosecution of these enquiries has been entrusted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which has started a special branch to deal with the subjects of Anthropology and Ethnography and is publishing the results of these investigations in the third part of its *Journal*. These investigations are being made on the lines approved by Professors Flower, Turner and Topi-

nard, and also include the measurement of representative specimens of the chief tribes and castes of India. In the North-Western Provinces Mr. E. J. Kitts, of the Civil Service, has been carrying on these enquiries with special reference to the tribes and castes resident in those provinces. And lately a detailed anthropological survey of the races, tribes and castes which inhabit Southern India has been commenced by the authorities of the Government Museum at Madras, which promises to become, in course of time, the centre for the study of the Anthropology of the Madras Presidency.

This survey comprises within its scope, not only the record of the anthropometric measurements, but also detailed description of other physical characteristics (skin, eyes, hair, face, &c.), personal adornment, clothing, tattooing, manners and customs, religion, ceremonial observances, marriage customs, games, arts, industries, &c. In addition to this, photographs are taken of representative specimens of each tribe and caste, and collections of jewellery, clothing, weapons, domestic utensils, musical instruments, models of dwelling huts, &c., are made and exhibited in the Madras Museum, which will thus become, in course of time, a guide to the anthropology of the native inhabitants of Southern India, illustrated by objects and pictures.

It is a matter for sincere congratulation that this detailed survey has been commenced at so opportune a moment. Many influences are now at work which are modifying the conditions of life, manners and customs, morality and even the very language of the aboriginal races. Needless to say that sufficient evidence can be adduced to prove that the influence of western civilization, import trade with other countries, and the daily increasing struggle for existence, are working out a silent but mighty revolution among the aboriginal and non-aboriginal natives of the Southern Presidency. The indigenous population are giving up the use of country-made cloths for that of cottons of European manufacture, and employing tiles to roof their houses with, instead of the primitive thatch. The turban—the national head-gear of the natives of Southern India—is being gradually replaced by the less becoming pork-pie cap, or knitted night-cap of gaudy hue. Native peasants are taking to the use of beads and imitation jewellery of European make in lieu of the more beautiful and finely-finished jewellery of indigenous manufacture. Cotton-stuffs and other wearing materials are now no longer dyed with the indigenous vegetable dyes, the use of which is being supplanted by that of the cheaper and more rapidly operating anilin and alizarin dyes of Europe. The aboriginal natives no longer kindle fire by the friction of their primitive fire-sticks, but have taken to the use of lucifer-matches.



Besides these changes, the dissemination of education amongst the people, the introduction of reforms in existing religious beliefs, and the suppression by the British Government of such horrible practices as Thuggi, Sutti, the *meriah* human sacrifices of the Khonds, and Toda infanticide are a few among the manifold factors which are slowly but surely changing the primitive manners and customs and modes of life, not only of the various races and tribes of the Southern Presidency, but also of those throughout the peninsula of India. It is now, therefore, high time for the commencement of a systematic anthropological survey of the races, tribes and castes of India; as a few years hence no aborigines will be left for the purposes of study, and those that will be left will be so completely changed by contact with a higher form of civilization as not to retain any of their primitive modes of life, customs or beliefs. It may, therefore, be presumed that the less influenced by a higher civilization is the tribe, the more valuable is the evidence afforded by the study of its institutions, manners and customs. Many such tribes, unchanged by contact with higher forms of culture or belief, have still their homes in the rocky fastnesses of Southern India, which therefore afford a happy hunting ground for the investigations of the scientific anthropologist. Among them may be mentioned the Todas and Kotas of the Nilgiris, the Badagas of the plateau, and the Irulas and Kurumans (Kurumbas) who inhabit the lower slopes of those hills, the Muppas, Urâli Kurumans and Paniyans of the Wynaad and the Cherumans of Calicut.

The Director of the Madras Museum has very opportunely started his investigations among these interesting tribes, taken anthropometric measurements of representative individuals among them and placed on record a trustworthy account of their manners and customs. Photographs have also been taken of representative individuals of these tribes, dressed in their national costume and adorned with their native jewellery, as also of their primitive habitations. The results of these investigations have been published in part in the form of the two bulletins under review, and the rest will be published in the future issues of this publication.

The first part of these bulletins treats of the anthropology of the Todas and Kotas of the Nilgiri Hills and of the Brâhmans, Kammâlans, Pallis and Pariahs of Madras City, and the second part deals with the Badagas and Irulas of the Nilgiris and the Paniyans of Malabar. Both these publications are illustrated with a number of beautiful photographic likenesses of men and women of the tribes dealt with.

A very curious people are the Todas who live on the slopes of the Nilgiri Hills, and to whom the most sacred objects on earth are a holy

The Todas:

dairy-man (pālāl) and a large-horned race of semi-domesticated buffaloes on whose milk and the products thereof they, to a large extent, depend for their subsistence. From the returns of the last census (1891) it appears that the Todas number 424 males and 312 females, total 736, thereby showing an increase of 43 persons over the numbers recorded during the census operations of 1871 and 1881. The typical Toda man is above medium height, well-proportioned and stalwart, with straight nose, regular features, and perfect teeth. The principal physical characteristic by which the tribe are distinguished from the other aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri Hills, is the development of the pilous (hairy) system. The Todas clothe themselves with an outer garment (putkūli) of thick cotton cloth, with red and blue stripes woven into it, which reaches from the shoulders to the knees, hanging in graceful folds, and one end of which they fling over the left shoulder.

The Todas are sub-divided into five clans, *viz.*, Kenna, Kuttan, Paiki, Pekkann and Todi, the members of each of which have no distinguishing dress or mark. Though the Todas are endogamous as a tribe, intermarriage between the Paikis and the Pekkans is said to be forbidden, but the rest of the clans intermarry freely.

The religion of the Todas is a very simple faith, which has, in modern times, been leavened with an admixture of Hindu rites and superstitions. The Todas worship a being whom they call Kadavul, and who, they believe, is the creator of the earth and sky. They offer prayers to him every night and morning, imploring him to protect their cattle, their wives and their families. They also worship the rising (but not the setting) sun and the moon. They believe that the souls of dead men go, accompanied by the spirits of the buffaloes sacrificed at their funeral, to heaven (āmnād), over Makurti peak, and that the soul of a person who has, during his earthly existence, led a good and pure life, will enjoy perpetual bliss in those elysian regions, while a man who has led an evil life on this side of the grave will be doomed to condign punishment there.

The Todas have a further tradition to the effect that, on the road leading to heaven, there is a river full of leeches, which has to be crossed by a thread which will snap beneath the weight of a bad man and plunge him into hell (pūṣṛigēn), but will afford a safe passage across to a good man. It is further believed by these primitive children of the hills that a man who has led an evil life on this earth returns to his mundane existence in the guise of a giant or demon who goes about slaying Todas and people of other races.

The Todas pay special devours to Bētākan, the god of hunting, who has a temple at Nambalakōd in the Wynnād, and to

Hiriadēva, the bell-cow god, whose temple is at Mēlur, where Badagas perform the curious ceremony of walking through the fire. They also worship the Hindu god Ranganātha with offerings of cocoanuts, plantains, &c., at the temples at Nanjengōd in Mysore, and Karamaddi, near Mettupalaiyam. If a woman proves barren, her husband, with or without her, undertakes a pilgrimage to the temple of the god Ranganātha, and prays to the swāmi to give them offspring. Sometimes the husband of the woman takes a vow to let the hair of his head grow long and offers it as a sacrifice to the swāmi as soon as the barren woman is brought to bed of a child.

Among instances of Toda superstition may be mentioned the taboo on pregnant women against crossing a river or other running water, it being believed that the god who presides over the river will punish the violator of the taboo with the direst consequences of his wrath. Diseases are believed by the Todas to be caused by malignant devils and spirits. Dr. Edgar Thurston came across a woman who wore round her neck a copper-plate wound into a spiral, on which mantras were inscribed. She had dreamt evil dreams when laid up with fever and wore the amulet to exorcise the devils and keep herself safe from their threatenings and the bad dreams.

The Todas have lately taken to many Hindu religious practices, such as shaving and marking the foreheads with streaks and spots, of which practices eight instances were met with by Dr. Edgar Thurston.

The most curious among the Toda institutions are those of the Toda priesthood and of the Toda dairy-temples, or lactariums. The Toda priesthood comprises five classes of priests, or dairy-men, who rank as follows in order of precedence :—

- (1) Pālāl (priests of the tiriēris).
- (2) Vorzhāl.
- (3) Kokvalikarpāl (at the Tarnāt mand).
- (4) Kurpulikarpāl (at the Kāndal mand).
- (5) Pālkarpāl (called Tarvēlikarpāl at the Tarnāt mand).

A typical tiriēri (dairy-temple, or lactarium) consists of a dwelling-hut for the pālāls or dairy-priests, a separate hut for the Kāltamāks, or sacred herdsmen, a large and small cattle-pen (the latter for cow-buffaloes in milk) for the sacred herd (swāmi mārdū), and a tiriēri or dairy-temple which contains the sacred bell (māni) and dairy appliances. The tiriēri and its grounds are tabooed to all the day Todas, and none but pālāls and kāltamāks are permitted to enter its precincts.

The bell-cow is more sacred than the other members of the herd. When a bell-cow dies, the bell descends to her daughter, or, in case of the non-existence of female offspring, a cow is brought from another tiriēri. The bell-cow does not

usually wear the bell, but does so when a move is made to a distant tiriēri for the periodical change of pasture grounds.

Before a man can become a pālāl or a kālāmāk, he has to undergo some initiation ceremonies. A pālāl-designate has to live in the forest for two or three days and nights all but naked and subsisting on one meal of rice daily and drinking the juice of the tud tree (*Meliosma pungens*). On the last day of the retreat, the neophyte does puja to a black cloth—the distinguishing garb of a pālāl—and then, clothing himself with it, is initiated as a full-blown pālāl and goes straightway to the tiriēri. Nowadays, the pālāl has to serve in this capacity for ten to twelve years, but he can throw up his office whenever he chooses to do so, with the permission of a pānchayat. On resigning, the ci-devant pālāl returns to his mand or village and resumes the duties of a householder.

A kālāmāk-elect has to retire to the forest and live there for a day and a night, all but naked; and on the following morning he drinks some juice of a tud tree, puts on a white cloth, and is thereby initiated a full-blown kālāmāk, and is then taken to the tiriēri. There is no fixed time prescribed for the service of a kālāmāk, and a kālāmāk may eventually be promoted to a pālāl.

The duties which a pālāl has to perform may be described as follows: As the day dawns, he throws open the cattle-pen, and sends out the sacred cattle to graze in the charge of a kālāmāk, or sacred herdsman. Then he performs the necessary ablutions and thereafter enters the tiriēri, or dairy-temple, and offers up puja to the bell-god. At about 7-30 or 8 A.M. he comes out of the tiriēri, puts on a black cloth, and salutes the sacred cattle, which must have by this time returned from grazing, by raising his wand and bamboo measure (khāndi) to his head, and commences milking the cows. After milking is done, the buffaloes are again sent out to graze, and the milk is taken to the tiriēri, where further pujas are offered up. On entering the tiriēri, the pālāl dips his fingers in milk three times, puts his fingers on the bell-god, and apparently utters the names of some gods. The morning meal is then cooked for both pālāl and kālāmāks. Every three or four days the pālāl makes butter and ney. Between 4 and 5 P.M. the buffaloes return home, and are shut up for the night. Then further pujas are offered up in the evening, after which the pālāl takes his evening meal and retires for the night. Sometimes a pālāl has to attend a pānchāyat at some distance from the tiriēri and act as a judge, enquiring into cases and delivering judgment, which is accepted by the other members of the pānchāyat. The pālāl also does a little trading—selling the milk, butter and ney to the lay Todas and Badagas. He

brings the sacred dairy-produce outside the precincts of the tiriēri, keeping the intending buyers at a distance, and, when he has returned to the tiriēri, the articles are taken away by the purchasers and their value in money is left in their place.

The two dairy-temples of the Kāndal mand (village) are called Kurpūli and Orzhāli, and the priests thereof are designated Kurpūlikārpāl and Vorzhāl. The Kurpūlikārpāl belongs to the Kenna clan, is selected for the office by the headman of the mand, and is paid six rupees per annum. His duties are to graze and milk the buffaloes belonging to his temple, make butter and ney, distribute the dairy-produce among the residents of the mand and perform pujas in the temple. He is subject to the authority of the headman of the mand and has to obey the latter's orders and go to bazars and villages, &c. The vorzhāl must belong to the Paiki or Pekkan clan, is appointed by the headman and is paid six rupees per annum. He has to perform the same duties as the Kurpūlikārpāl, but he may not leave the mand for the purpose of going to bazars or villages. During the kurpūlikārpāl's absence, the vorzhāl may milk the former's buffaloes; but the former, being inferior in rank to the latter, is not allowed to milk the latter's buffaloes. There is no fixed time for the service of either the kurpūli or the vorzhāl, who may resign at any time on being relieved by a successor. Both of these classes of priesthood have to lead a strict life of celibacy; but a married man may also officiate as a priest, provided he lives apart from his wife during the tenure of his priestly calling.

The three dairy-temples of the Tārnat mand are called kokvēli, tarvēli and orzhāli; and the priests attached thereto are respectively designated kokvēlikārpāl, tarvēlikārpāl and vorzhāl. Each of these temples has its own buffaloes, which are milked by the kokvēlikārpāl, and the products of which are sold by him for his own benefit. The kokvēli remains in office for three years only, and can be succeeded by his brother alone, the office thus remaining, by virtue of hereditary succession, in one and the same family. The tarvēlikārpāl and the vorzhāl milk the buffaloes of their respective temples and distribute the dairy-produce among the residents of the mand. The vorzhāl draws a salary of six rupees per annum. All the three classes of priests attached to the temples of the Tārnat mand have to perform pujas in their temples in addition to doing their allotted work in the dairy.

Besides the pālchis and tiriēris, the Todas maintain, as dairy-temples, some structures called boaths or boas. There are four of these curious temples on the Nilgiri plateau, viz. at the Muttanād mand, near Kotagiri, near Sholūr, and at Mudimand. The boath is a circular stone structure, about 2½

to 30 feet high, with a thatched roof and surrounded by a circular stone wall. It contains milking vessels, dairy apparatus and a swāmi in the shape of a copper bell. This sacred building is tabooed to all laymen, and no one is admitted within the precincts of this *sanctum sanctorum*, except the dairyman-priest, who is called a vorzhāl, and is appointed by the village headman and his brother.

Morality is at a very low ebb among the Todas previous to marriage. With them marriage is nothing but a civil contract, which is regarded as binding and acts, to a certain extent, as a check on promiscuous intercourse. When a girl attains the age of puberty, she has to undergo an initiatory ceremony in which a strong man has to test whether she is physically fit to enter into the married state. The selected man may subsequently marry her, or she may marry any one else whom she may accept as agreeable to her. A man who is betrothed to a girl may enjoy conjugal rights before the actual marriage takes place, for the purpose of testing mutual liking or dislike before it is too late, but may not live in the same hut with her.

If a married woman prove faithless to her husband, he may divorce her and send her back to her parents. The divorced woman may marry again, on condition that her new husband recoups, in money or buffaloes, the expenses of her first marriage. Widows are permitted to marry again.

Young men are not required to undergo any test of physical fitness before they are allowed to marry. The male children are also not circumcised.

On the death of a Toda, the corpse, dressed with a new putkūli and adorned with jewellery, is laid out in the hut. A lamp is kept burning in the hut, and camphor is used as a disinfectant. The news of the death is conveyed to other mands, the inhabitants of which come to pay their respects to the deceased. On entering the hut, they place their head to the head, and then their feet to the feet, of the corpse, and mourn in company with the relatives. On the day of death, none of the residents of the mands, or visitors from other villages, are allowed to eat food. On the next day, meals, cooked by the near relatives of the deceased, are served out in another hut. The near relatives are forbidden to partake of rice, milk, honey, or gram, until the funeral is over, but may eat rāgi, sāmāi, butter and ghee. When a man dies, a bow and arrow obtained from the Kotas, his walking stick, jaggery, rice, honey, cocoanuts, plantains, tobacco, a bamboo khāndi (measure), and cowries, with which to purchase food in the next world, are burned with him. When a woman dies, cooking and household utensils, jewellery, articles of food, thread and cowries are burned.

This Toda practice of burning household implements and articles of food affords another striking illustration of the doctrine of object-souls propounded by Dr. Tylor in his *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 477-79; 481. Some savage tribes, who hold the doctrine of object-souls, not only ascribe personality and life to men and beasts, but also believe that things have souls. What we call inanimate objects—such as rivers, stones, trees, weapons and the like, are treated by them in the same way as living intelligent beings are treated by us, talked to, propitiated and punished for the harm they do. Under this impression they, very rationally, sacrifice household utensils, objects for personal use and adornment, weapons, articles of food, cowries, etc., in order to transmit the souls or spirits of these objects to the possession of the man's soul in the next world, so that they may be of use to him there, just as some races sacrifice human beings and animals at funerals in order to despatch their souls for the service of the soul of the deceased person.

Among the Todas there are two kinds of funeral—the one called the dry funeral (*kēdu*), and the other green funeral. In the *kēdu*, pieces of the skull of the deceased are reverently anointed with clarified butter and placed in a cloth spread on the ground. Then the men, and, after them, the women, make obeisance to these relics of the deceased, by kneeling down before the same and touching them with the forehead. Then a buffalo is sacrificed; after which the assembled men, women and children salute the dead beast by placing their heads between its horns, and weep and mourn in pairs. This brings the dry funeral to a close.

The green funeral is performed immediately after the death of a person. In this ceremony, too, the corpse is saluted by men, women and children with the same manifestations of grief as at the dry funeral. Thereafter a buffalo is sacrificed, and the corpse is placed, face upwards, with its feet resting on the forehead of the sacrificed animal. Then the assembled men and women again have a good cry to themselves. Thereafter the corpse is borne to the burning ground within the shola, or sacred grove, and burned. A portion of the skull is removed from the ashes, wrapped up with the hair in the bark of the *tūd* tree and carefully preserved until the celebration of the dry funeral. Then another buffalo\* is sacrificed, and rice

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\* So wanton and wholesale is the destruction of buffaloes at Toda funerals that the Madras Government has recently passed orders restricting the number of animals to be sacrificed at a *kēdu* (funeral). It has ruled that the number of animals killed at any one *kēdu* shall be limited to two, whatever may be the number of Todas in connection with whose decease the ceremony is held. It is hoped that this executive order of the Government will put a stop to the wholesale cruel slaughter of buffaloes, which has been a crying evil in the Nilgiris.

and jaggery are distributed among the assembled men and women, who then disperse to their respective homes. With this the ceremony of the green funeral is concluded.

The Todas have only one purely religious ceremony, which is called *Kona Shastra*. This ceremonial is said to be performed once in four or five years for the purpose of propitiating the gods, so that they may bless the Todas with good luck and make their buffaloes yield a plentiful supply of milk. A round hole is dug in the ground, and filled with salt and water, which is drunk by the grown-up buffaloes, as also by a selected buffalo belonging to the mand which is celebrating the ceremony. The Toda men, who have been invited to be present on this festive occasion, are then fed—the ceremony being tabooed to the women. Then the priest (*vorzhāl*, or *pāli-karpāl*), donning a black putkūli round the waist, slays the buffalo-calf by dealing it a blow on the head with a stick made from a bough of the sacred tūd tree (*Meliosma pungens*.) The assembled Todas then make obeisance to the sacrificed beast by placing their foreheads on its head. The flesh of the sacrificed animal is given to Kotas; but Brecks says that it is eaten by the celebrants themselves.

Among the Toda games and pastimes may be mentioned the *narthūmi*, in which a flat slab of stone is supported horizontally on two other slabs, fixed perpendicularly on the ground so as to form a narrow tunnel through which a man can just contrive to pass with difficulty. This game is played by two men, one of whom stations himself at a distance of about 30 yards, the other taking his stand about 60 yards away from the tunnel. The front man, doffing his cloth, runs as fast as his heels can carry him to the tunnel and is pursued by the "scratch" man, who tries to touch the other man's feet before he has squeezed himself through the tunnel. Another game, called *ilāta*, very much resembles the English game of tip-cat. It is played with a bat like a broom-stick and a cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends. This piece of wood is propped up against a stone and struck with the bat. As it flies up off the stone, it is hit off to a distance with the bat, and caught or missed by the out-fields. A third game consists in raising a very heavy stone up to the shoulder, with a view to testing the strength of the man lifting it up.

When a Toda meets a Badaga, he bends down, and the Badaga, as a form of greeting and sign of superiority, places his hand on the top of the Toda's head. When a Toda meets a Kota, the latter kneels down and raises the former's feet to his head. When a Toda meets a Kurumbar, the latter bends forward, and the Toda places his hand on the Kurum-



bar's head. A Toda meeting an Irula is saluted in the same way as by a Kurumbar.

The next tribe anthropometrically measured by Dr. Edgar

The Kotas.

Thurston is the Kotas of the Nilgiris. During the census of 1891, the Kotas numbered 1,201 (556 males and 645 females) against 1,062 (498 males and 564 females) at the census of 1881. The Kotas live in large communities, in seven villages, of which six are situated on the plateau and the remaining one is situated on the northern slope of the Nilgiris. Each of these Kota villages comprises thirty to sixty, or more, detached huts and rows of huts, arranged in streets. The huts are constructed of mud, brick, or stone, and roofed with thatch, or tiles, and divided into living and sleeping apartments. The floor is raised above the ground, and there is a verandah in front, with a seat on each side.

The Kotas have no caste, but are divided into *kēris*, or streets, *vis.*, *kilkeri*, *mēlkēri* and *nadukēri*. The members of the different *kēris* may intermarry with each other, but people belonging to the same *kēri* cannot do so, as they are supposed to belong to the same family. The principal physical characteristics by which the Kotas may be differentiated from the Todas, are the following: "The most obvious distinguishing character is the great development of the hairy system in the Toda, though the Kota frequently has hair well developed on his chest and abdomen. The weight and chest-girth of the two tribes are approximately the same, but the mean Toda height is 67 cm. greater than that of the Kotas. Corresponding to a greater length of the upper extremities, the span of the arms (*i.e.*, the length from tip to tip of the middle finger with the arms extended at right angles to the body) is 67 cm. longer in the Toda than in the Kota, but the difference between height and span is exactly the same (54 cm.) in the Toda and the Kota. The Todas are broader-shouldered than the Kotas, and, though the former do far less manual labour than the latter (many of whom are blacksmiths), their hand grip, as tested by a Salter's dynamometer, is considerably (9lbs.) greater. The Kotas have broader hips, but a shorter and narrower foot than the Todas. Both Todas and Kotas are dolichocephalic. The cephalic breadth averages the same in the two tribes, but the length of the head is very slightly (2 cm.) greater in the Toda. The Kota has a wider face with more prominent cheek bones, a greater bimilar breadth, a wider lower jaw, and more developed zygomatic arches. The Toda nose is slightly longer and broader than that of the Kotas. The height from the top of the head (vertex) to the chin is slightly less in the Kota than in the

Toda ; but corresponding to the greater length from the vertex to the tragus and the more developed frontal region, the facial angle (angle of Cuvier) of the Kota is in excess ( $3^{\circ}$ ) of that of the Toda."

The religion of the Kotas partakes more of the nature of fetishism than of anything else. According to Dr. Shortt, they are said to worship some rude image of wood or stone, a rock, or a tree in a secluded locality, and to offer sacrificial offerings to the same. But the recognised place of Kota worship in each village consists of a large square piece of ground, walled round with loose stones, three feet high, and containing in its middle two pent-shaped thatched sheds, open both before and behind, and supported by stone posts on which some rude circles and other figures are drawn. But in these places no images of any kind are to be found. These sheds, which are situated at a short distance from each other, are dedicated to the worship of Siva and his consort Pārvati, under the names of Kāmatārāya and Kālikai. Though in these rude temples no images of the aforesaid god and goddess are exhibited on ordinary occasions, yet their divine spirits are believed to permeate the whole of these structures. On the occasion of the annual ceremony, however, their deityships are represented by two thin, plain plates of silver, which are fixed to the upright posts of the temples.

The Kotas go to these temples once a month, on the day of the full-moon, and meditate on and worship their gods.

There is a very ancient tradition current among the Kotas to the effect that once upon a time Kāmatārāya, perspiring profusely, wiped off from his forehead three drops of perspiration and created out of them the three most ancient of the hill-tribes—the Todas, Kurumbas and Kotas. The Todas were told to subsist principally upon milk; the Kurumbas were allowed to eat the flesh of buffalo-calves, and the Kotas were ordered to eat anything they liked, not excepting carrion even. In recent times, the Kotas have added to their pantheon a new god, named Māgāli, who is supposed to cause outbreaks of cholera, and a goddess named Māriammā, to whose influence smallpox epidemics are said to be due. Whenever cholera breaks out in the Kota villages, special sacrifices are offered by the Kotas for the purpose of propitiating the wrath of the gods. Near the village of Kotagiri is a rude temple dedicated to the god Māgāli who is represented by an upright slab of stone only, and in whose honour a ceremony is held every year, in which some man becomes possessed by that god, and in that state announces to the assembled votaries the longed-for tidings that his deityship has arrived there. On this occasion a special priest (pūjāri) presents to the

god offerings of plantains and cocoanuts and sacrifices sheep and fowls to him.

The marriage customs of the Kotas are of a very simple nature. If a boy is desirous of marrying, his parents or his friends select a bride for him, subject of course to the consent of the girl's parents. Accompanied by both his parents, the boy goes to the house of his bride-elect, prostrates himself at the feet of his future father-in-law with a *four-anna* bit and, according to Breeks, also with a *birianhana* of gold. Thus the boy is betrothed to his wife-elect. Betrothal usually takes place when the girl is eight to ten years old. Before the marriage takes place, the bridegroom-elect, accompanied by his relatives, goes to a feast at the house of the bride; when a day is fixed for the celebration of the nuptial rites. On the appointed day, the bridegroom pays to the bride's father a dowry of from ten to fifty rupees and fetches the girl to his own house, where the wedding guests, who have come over with them, are treated to a feast. As a rule, girls get married when they are from twelve to sixteen years old, between which years they are said to attain the age of puberty. Among the Kotas widows are allowed to marry for the second time. The Kotas are, as a rule, monogamous; and polyandry is unknown among them. They can obtain divorce, subject to the consent of the village *pāñchāyat*, on the ground of incompatibility of temper, drunkenness or immorality.

When a married woman is known to be pregnant with her first child, her husband allows the hair of the head and face to grow long and leaves the nails of both hands unpared. When a woman is about to be delivered of a child, she is removed to a permanent hut called *vollūgūdi*, which is partitioned off into two compartments, one of which is used as a lying-in room, and the other for the temporary residence of women during the menstrual periods. After the birth of the child, the Kota woman has to remain in the *vollūgūdi* till the next full moon, and thereafter removes to another hut called *tēlulu*, where she has to remain for a further period of two months. After leaving the *vollūgūdi* the newborn child is fed with rice cooked in a specially manufactured clay vessel, on a fire kindled with the wood of a particular kind of jungle tree. When the woman leaves the *tēlulu*, the relatives are entertained with a feast, when the headman of the *khēri* gives the child a name which has been selected by its father. When the woman is about to return to her home after her temporary banishment therefrom, the house is purified with cowdung and water; and, before she is allowed to enter it, she has to drink a few drops of water given to her by the man who has named the child. One of the commonest

names of Kota women is Mādi, which is also one of the names of the goddess Kālikai; and the first male child is always dubbed with the name of Komuttan, which is a corrupt form of the name of the god Kāmatarāya.

The Kota funeral ceremonies very much resemble those of the Todas. When a man or woman is about to die, a gold coin is placed in the mouth. After death the corpse is laid out on a mat and covered with a cloth, its thumbs are tied together with a string, and the hands are placed on the chest. The relatives of the deceased, the pujāri and dēvādi, and the Kotas of the other villages, to whom the news of the death may have been communicated, come over to the house of the deceased and salute the corpse, head to head, and mourn over it. A roughly-made car (tēru), constructed of wood and decorated with cloths, red flags and long white streamers, is placed in front of the house of the deceased, round which the assembled Kotas dance to the strains of a Kota band, while the nearest relatives keep up the mourning. The corpse is then placed within the car and saluted by the assembled Kotas. A buffalo is then sacrificed, as a matter of routine. The corpse is then carried on a cot outside the village, and the car is also carried therewith. Then a buffalo is again sacrificed and after that the right hand of the corpse is placed on the dead beast's head. The carcase of the sacrificed animal is then saluted by all present and made over to the pariahs. From the jungle the corpse and the car are carried to the burning ground, where a funeral pyre is made, on which the corpse is laid, face upwards, and the car is then placed over it. The pyre is then set fire to and the body burned. Then tobacco, cheroots, cloths and grain are distributed to those present, and the funeral party then disperses.

In the month of December a dry funeral ceremony is performed in imitation of the Toda *baru kēdu*. Eight days before the date fixed for the ceremony, a dance takes place in front of the houses of the Kotas whose memorial rites are to be celebrated, and three days before the actual ceremony is performed, the Kotas of the neighbouring villages are invited to be present on the occasion. On the day fixed, the relatives of the dead Kotas have buffaloes ready for sacrifice, and place the skulls, which have remained unburied, wrapt in cloths on a cot. These relics of the deceased are then saluted by touching them with the head. They are then carried to the shola, or the sacred grove, where the buffaloes—one for each skull—are sacrificed. The skulls are then burned. The burning over, those who have been present for the occasion remain all night on the spot, where, on the following morning, a feast and dance take place. Finally, a dance is held in the village.

Once in every year the Kotas celebrate a great festival in

honor of their god Kāmatarāya, for the purpose of propitiating his deityship, so that he may bless them with a plentiful harvest and general prosperity. The feast commences on the first Monday after the new moon in January, and continues for a fortnight nearly, which is kept as a general holiday by this tribe, and is availed of by them, it is said, for the practice of much licentiousness and debauchery, much indecent dancing being indulged in by both men and women on this occasion. On the first day of the festival a fire is kindled by one of the priests in the temple and taken to the Nadukēri quarter of the village, where it is kept burning throughout the festival. Around this fire, the Kota men, women and adolescent boys and girls dance to the accompaniment of the weird music of their peculiar band. This dance is continued throughout the second, third, fourth and fifth day. On the sixth day the Kotas go to the jungle and collect bamboos and rattans for re-roofing their temples with, and on the seventh the temples are re-roofed and decorated, the dancing being as usual kept up during the night time. In the morning of the eighth day, the Kota villagers go a-begging to Badaga villages for doles of grain and ghee which, having been obtained, are cooked, placed in front of a temple, as a thanks offering to their swāmi, and, after the priests have eaten, are partaken of by them. On the ninth day dancing takes place again. On the eleventh and twelfth days a pantomimic representation of a Toda funeral-ceremony (kēdu) is gone through, in which men, clad in black clothes and with buffalo-horns on their heads, play the part of the sacrificial buffaloes. At the conclusion of the festival the pūjāris, the dēvādi, and the *elite* of the Kota community go out hunting with bows and arrows, starting from the village at 1 A.M. and returning thither at 3 A.M. They are said to have shot bison during this nocturnal expedition. On their return to the village, a fire is kindled by means of fire-sticks, into which a piece of iron is put by the dēvādi, made red-hot and hammered by the pūjāri. The priests then offer up a final prayer to the swāmi, which brings the annual Kota festival to a close.

The Kotas have several games and pastimes, which are similar to those of the Todas. One of the Kota games consists in attempting to raise a heavy round stone from the ground to the shoulders. They have also a game which resembles the English tip-cat in many respects. In another game sides are chosen, of about ten each. One side take shots, with a ball made of cloth, at a brick propped against a wall, near which the other side stand. Each man is allowed three shots at the brick. If the brick is hit and falls over, one of the "outside" picks up the ball, and throws it at the other side, who run away and try to avoid being hit. If the ball touches one

of them, the side is put out, and the other side go in. The Kotas have several games which are played on boards on which several kinds of patterns are engraved. Illustrations of these are given in plate xxvii, page 200, of the first part of the bulletins under review. One of these games, called *hulikote*, bears a close similarity to the English game of fox and geese. In one form of this game, two tigers and twenty-five bulls, and, in another variety thereof, three tigers and fifteen bulls, play a prominent part, the object of the tigers being to kill all the bulls. There is yet another game, called *kotē*, which is played on a labyrinthiform pattern, or board, the object of the game being to get to the centre of the board.

There are several elements in the aboriginal population of the Nilgiris which represent the pastoral, agricultural and artisan stages of primitive civilization. The pastoral phase of early culture is represented by the Todas, and the artisan stage by the Kotas; while the Badagas typify the agricultural aspect thereof. The Badagas are said to be descended from the Kanarese, Hindus who migrated from the Mysore country probably about three centuries ago, and settled in the rocky fastnesses of the Nilgiris, owing to famine or political disturbances in their native country. Much plausibility is lent to this theory by the fact that the Badagas speak a language allied to the Kanarese. During the census operations of 1891 the Badagas numbered 29,613 persons, against 24,130 at the previous census.

In physique the typical Badaga is below middle height, smooth-skinned, and of slender build, and possesses narrow chest and shoulders. His complexion is lighter than that of the other hill-tribes.

The Badagas are divided into the six undermentioned septs:—

Udaya or (Wodeyar)	Lingayats	...	High caste.
Adhikāri	Do.	...	Do.
Kanaka	Do.	...	Do.
Hāruva	Saivites	...	Do.
Badaga	Do.	...	Do.
Toraya	Do.	...	Low caste.

Of these six septs, the Hāruvas, Adhikāris, Kanakas and Badagas may intermarry with each other; but the Udayas and Torayas are endogamous, being permitted to marry only within their own septs. The Hāruvas wear the Brāhmanical thread, whereas the Torayas form the lowest caste among the Badagas and perform menial work for the other septs. The Udayas, Hāruvas and Adhikāris are vegetarians; whereas the Kanakas, Badagas and Torayas partake of both vegetable and animal food.

The religious beliefs of the Badagas are of polytheistic and demonolatrous types. They not only worship a number of major gods and thirty-three crores of minor divinities, but also believe that the ills which human flesh is heir to are caused by devils. They worship, in common with other Hindu sects and the Todas, in all manner of shrines, from an insignificant jungle or road-side shrine to the big temple with gopurams at Karamadai. The images of their divinities are often fashioned in gold and silver after the human likeness, and sometimes in the shape of stone bulls and roughly-hewn boulders of stone, which are supposed to look after the welfare of the milch cows, and to which oblations of milk are given when a cow runs dry or refuses to yield the proper quantity of milk. The Badagas, like other aboriginal tribes, are very superstitious, believing implicitly in good and bad omens, among which may be mentioned the sight of two Brāhmans, a look at a jackal, or a milk-pot in front, all of which are considered auspicious; whereas a snake passing in front, a woman with dishevelled hair, a widow, or a single Brāhman going before, are said by them to prognosticate evil to the looker-on.

Badaga youths of the Lingāyat sect are invested with the linga or phallic emblem, which is the badge of their religion and tied round their necks. The investiture-ceremony is performed with much solemnity and attended with feasting and other jovialities. On this occasion, too, oblations of the milk of cows and buffaloes are offered to a rivulet. When a Badaga lad has attained adolescence, he is taught the art of milking buffaloes and kine, and thenceforth is permitted to enter the precincts of the hāgōtu, or dairy, which is tabooed to the female Badagas, who are not allowed to cross its threshold.

The marriage-ceremonies of the Badagas are very short and simple. Among the members of the Udaya clan, there is nothing in the nature of courtship; but the father selects the bride or bridegroom for his child. In the other septs a simple form of sexual selection is allowed; and betrothal is soon followed by marriage, which takes place on an auspicious day. The marriage-tie is not, however, really sealed and confirmed until the fifth month of the bride's first pregnancy, when the ceremony of *kanni-kattēdu* is performed and the marriage emblem is tied round the neck of the woman. If, in tying the emblem round the bride's neck, the husband gets the string entangled in her hair, he is fined for carelessness. When a Badaga girl attains puberty, she is tattooed on the forehead, with a needle dipped in the soot collected from a cooking-pot and mixed with oil, in order to notify, to the Badaga swains the fact that she is now available for matrimonial purposes.

The funeral rites of the Badagas are very similar to those

of the Kotas. In the course of these ceremonies, an elder, taken his stand by the corpse, and offers up a prayer that the deceased may not be doomed to endure the purgatory of the infernal regions; that the sins committed by him during his earthly existence may be forgiven, and that his iniquities may be borne by a calf which is let loose in the jungle, and thenceforth not used for any work. The Badaga custom of dedicating a scape-calf is fraught with much interest and bears a striking similarity to the Levitical practice of dedicating a scape-goat. "But the goat on which the lot falls to be the scape-goat shall be presented alive before the Lord to make an atonement with him, and to let him go for a scape-goat in the wilderness, and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited." (Lev. XVI, 10; 22).

The next tribe, which has been anthropologically studied, is the Irulas of the Nilgiris. Just as the Badagas are the fairest-complexioned, so the Irulas are the darkest-skinned of the Nilgiri tribes, the name Irula being derived from the Tamil word *iru*, which means darkness or blackness. The typical Irula is dark-skinned, with broad nose and high nasal index; but some of them have been found to be lighter-complexioned and to have narrow noses. The Irulas speak a corrupt form of Tamil.

They worship Vishnu under the designation of Ranga-swāmi, to whom they offer puja in their own rude shrines, or at the Hindu Temple at Karamada, where Brahman priests officiate. According to Brecks, an Irula pujari is said to live close by the temples, and ring a bell when he offers puja to the gods. He paints his forehead with the distinguishing mark of the Vaishnavites. The son succeeds the father in the discharge of these priestly functions, for which he is remunerated by offerings of fruit and milk from the worshippers, and also by a fee of two annas paid by each of the Irula villages. There is also a temple at Kallampalla in the Sattiyamangalam taluk, north of Rangaswāmi's peak, which is said to be dedicated to the god Siva, of which the pujāri is said to wear the Siva mark. In this latter temple is a stone which is worshipped by the Irulas under the designation of Mariamma, the dread goddess of small-pox, who is said to be an incarnation of Durga, and to whom sheep are offered by way of sacrifice.

The Irulas live in villages and earn their subsistence mostly by cultivation, and also by working as labourers in the coffee plantations. They do not partake of the flesh of either buffaloes or cattle, but will eat sheep, goat, fowls, deer, pig, hares, jungle-fowl, pigeons and quail. On Saturdays or Mondays they will not do any work in connection with cultivation. At the sowing season, the Badagas bring cocoanuts, plantains,



milk and ghee, and give them to the Irulas, who, after offering the same to their swāmi, return them to the former.

The Irulas are monogamous, and their marriage ceremonies are very simple. When a young man is desirous of marrying, he selects a girl for himself and presents her parents with a sum of money, averaging from Rs. 13 to 25, as dowry. There is no marriage-tāli. On the day on which the marriage is celebrated, guests are invited to be present on the occasion and entertained at a feast in which a sheep is killed. They then present the bridegroom with sums varying from four to eight annas, and he ties up the same in a cloth and goes to the bride's house to fetch her to his own home. In the event of the wife proving barren, her husband is permitted to take unto himself a second spouse. The widows are allowed to marry a second time.

The Irulas have some quaint and curious funeral ceremonies. On the death of an Irula, two Kurumbas come to the village, one of whom shaves the head of the other. The shaved man is then fed and presented with a cloth, which he ties round his head. This rite is supposed to bring good luck to the deceased in the next world. So long as the corpse remains in the house, men and women dance outside it to the weird strains of the Irula band. The corpse is then taken to the burial-ground, of which there is one in each village. A circular pit is dug, from the bottom of which a chamber is excavated, and in this the dead body, clad in its own clothes, jewellery and a new cloth, is placed, in a sitting posture, with the legs crossed tailor-wise, together with a lamp and some grain. The grave is then filled up and its position marked by a stone.

An annual ceremony is said to be performed in commemoration of the deceased. Some oil and a lamp are purchased, and rice is cooked in the village. These are then taken to the shrine at the burial-ground, where a pujārī, with three white marks on his forehead, places some of the rice and pours a little of the oil on the grave-stone and performs some puja.

The last of the aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiris whose physical characteristics, traditions, religions, manners and customs have been scientifically investigated by Dr. Edgar Thurston, are the Paniyans of Malabar. They are a dark-skinned tribe, short in stature, with of broad noses and curly hair, and having their habitat in the Wynaad and those portions of the Ernād, Calicut, Kurumbranād and Kottayam taluks of Malabar which skirt the foot of the Eastern Ghats, and the Mudanād, Cherangōd, and Namblakōd amshams of the Nilgiri district. The average height of the men has been found to be 157·4 cm. and that of the women 146 cm. The men have very long hands and feet. The average length of the

latter (25 cm.), in fact, exceeds the average breadth of the hips (24·3 cm.) by 7 cm.—a difference in favour of the foot greater than in any of the other tribes investigated by Dr. Thurston. The average distance from the middle finger to the patella is (in men) only 4·6 cm. relative to stature=100, and approaches very nearly to the recorded results of measurement of long-limbed African Negroes. It is commonly believed, on the strength of their Negroid appearance, that the Paniyans are of African origin and are descended from ancestors who were wrecked on the Malabar Coast. But this belief falls to the ground on investigation.

During the census of 1891 the Paniyans were found to number 33,282 persons. In Malabar the status of the Paniyans is something like that of slaves, for every Paniyan is some landlord's "man"; and, though he is quite at liberty to leave his master, he is at once traced and steps are taken to ensure that he does not get employment anywhere. In the fifties, when European planters first began to settle in the Wynaad, they bought the land with the Paniyans living on it, who were, to all intents and purposes, slaves of the landowners. The word Paniyan signifies a labourer, and it is therefore believed that their original occupation was agriculture, as it is, to a large extent, at the present day. Many of them, however, work as labourers on coffee estates and on the rice-plantations. They speak a corrupt form of the Malayalam language in a curious nasal sing-song tone, which it is very difficult to imitate; but the Paniyans who are employed on coffee-estates can speak Kanarese also.

Of religious ideas and beliefs, the Paniyans have very little, and that little even is of a very crude and debased type. They not only believe in the power of devils and demons to work them evil, but also especially reverence the god of the jungles, Kād Bagavādi, or, according to another version, a deity called Kūli, a malignant and terrible being of neither sex, who is often represented by a stone placed under a tree, or sometimes by a cairn of stones. The Paniyans present, as offerings to their sāwmi, rice boiled in the husk, roasted and pounded, half a cocoanut, and small coins. They also hold the banyan and a lofty tree of the fig tribe in much reverence, as they consider them to be the abodes of evil spirits. They would not so much as touch, far less cut, these trees; and any one violating these prohibitions is believed to be taken ill.

There is a curious belief current among the Paniyans, that some of them can metamorphose themselves into the form of animals. It is said that, if any one of these specially gifted persons is desirous of having access to a woman whom

he is lusting after, he pays a visit to her house at night with a hollow bamboo and encircles her dwelling-place by going round it thrice. The woman then comes out; and the man, assuming the shape of a bull or dog, encompasses his wicked design. It is believed that, in such a case, the woman dies in the course of two or three days.

The Paniyans are, as a general rule, monogamous; but they may take to themselves as many wives as they can afford to maintain. When a young man is desirous of marrying, his parents select a bride for him. If the circumstances of the bridegroom-elect be somewhat straitened, he has to take a faggot of firewood to the house of his *fiancée* every day for a period of six months. The marriage-ceremonies are of a very simple nature. The ceremony is performed by a Paniyan Chemi (a corruption of Janmi). The bridegroom makes over a present of sixteen fanams (coins) and some new cloths to the Chemi, who hands the same over to the bride's parents. A feast is then prepared, at which the Panichis, or the Paniyan women, dance to the music of drum and pipe. Then the bridegroom's female relatives tie the *tāli*, or marriage-badge, round the bride's neck, and deck her with such rude ornaments as they can afford. The Chemi, or priest, then seals the marriage-knot by pouring water over the head and feet of the young couple. A Paniyan can marry neither two sisters, nor his deceased wife's sister. Widows are allowed to re-marry. When any body is found guilty of adultery, the guilty party has to pay a fine of sixteen fanams, which is the usual marriage fee, and a sum equal to the expenses of the wedding. No ceremony is performed on the occasion of the birth of children.

When a Paniyan dies, a pit, four or five feet deep and large enough to receive the body to be buried, is dug, due north and south, on a hill near the village. At the bottom of this excavation the earth is scooped out from the western side, on a level with the floor, throughout the length of the grave, so as to form a receptacle for the corpse, which, placed on a mat, is laid therein, upon its left side, with the head pointing to the south and the feet to the north. After a little cooked rice has been placed in the grave for the use of the departed spirit, the mat, which has been made wide enough for the purpose, is folded up and tucked in under the roof of the cavity, and the trench is then filled up. For seven days after death a little rice gruel is placed daily at a distance of from fifty to a hundred yards from the grave by the Chemi, who claps his hands as a signal to the evil spirits in the vicinity, who, assuming the form of a pair of crows, are believed to partake of this food which is hence called *kāka conji*, or

crow's rice. Among the *noombu*, or mourning ceremonies, observed by the Paniyans, are the *Ti polay*, which is performed seven days after death ; the *Kāka polay*, or *Karuvelli*, which is performed for three consecutive years in the month of Magaram (January-February), and the *Matham polay*, held once in every three or four years, when possible, in commemoration of those who are held in particular reverence. On all these occasions the Chemi officiates as a sort of master of the ceremonies. As these ceremonies differ from each other but little, an idea may be formed of all of them from the following description of the *Kāka polay* :—

In the month of Magaram the *noombu karrans* (mourners), or those who have lost relatives, begin to cook and partake of food in a pandal or shed which is at a distance from the village, but otherwise attend to their daily business as usual. They perform ablutions and eat meals twice a day, but have to abstain from eating meat or fish during this period. On the last day of the month, the Chemi makes arrangements for the performance of the ceremony which brings the mourning period to a close. The mourners, who have to fast from daybreak, take up their position in the pandal ; when the Chemi, holding on his crossed arms two winnowing sieves, each containing a seer or two of rice, walks round thrice, and finally deposits the sieves in the middle of the pandal. Then a person called the *Patalykaran*, who performs the same functions of an oracle as the *Komaran*, or *Villichipād*, does among the Hindus, ties a new cloth (*mundu*) round his head, besmears his body and arms with a paste made of riceflour and ghee and then enters the pandal with his legs bejingled with bells, the jingling of which is supposed to exorcise away the attendant evil spirits (*payan mar*). Advancing with short steps and rolling his eyes, he staggers to and fro, brandishes two small sticks with his hands and works himself up into a frenzied state as if he had been possessed by the god, the mourners meanwhile crying out and asking why the dead have been taken away from them. The performer, shivering with convulsive twitchings, staggers more violently than before, and falls down on the ground, or supports himself by holding one of the posts of the pandal, while he gasps out disjointed sentences which are supposed to be the inspired utterances of the god. The mourners now make obeisance and are marked on the forehead with the paste of riceflour and ghee. This being over, a mat is spread for the accommodation of the headmen and Chemi. Then the *Patalykaran*, from whose legs the bells had been removed and put with the rice in the sieves, takes these in his hands and, shaking them as he speaks, commences to

chant a funeral oration, which he continues till daybreak. In the meantime, food having been cooked and partaken of by all those present, except the mourners, dancing is kept up round the central group till dawn, when the pandal is pulled down, thus bringing the kāka polay to a conclusion. Those who have been fasting make up for lost time; and the relatives, who have allowed their hair to grow long, shave.

One of the favourite games of the Paniyans is swinging. A long strip of cane is suspended from the branch of a tree, and a cross-bar fixed to its lower end. A boy sits on the bar and swings himself in all directions. Another game consists in spinning round an upright pole. The upright pole with its upper end tapering to a point is planted in the ground, on the point of which a bar, twelve to fourteen feet long, is balanced. At the end of the horizontal bar, a boy hangs, and touching the ground with the feet, spins himself round.

Besides the aforesaid five aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiris, the Brāhmins of the poorer classes, Kammālans, Pallis, and Pariahs of the Madras City, have also been anthropometrically examined.

The Brāhmins who were examined mostly belonged to the Mādhava, Smarta, Sōliya, and Vaish-

**The Brāhmins.** nava clans and followed the occupations of agriculturist, clerk, gurū, mendicant, and schoolmaster. Ethnologists are of opinion that these Brāhmins of Southern India are not of pure Aryan descent, but have an admixture of Aryan and Dravidian blood in their veins. On their first arrival, the Brāhmins of the purest Aryan descent were not overanxious about contracting alliances with the women of the country, just as the Nambūdiri Brāhmins do at the present day; and the children born of such unions were regarded as belonging to an inferior class. These Brāhmins of mixed descent, even at the present day, regarded as lower in the social scale, and are not allowed to mix on terms of equality with the Brāhmins of the purest Aryan descent.

The Kammālans follow the occupations of blacksmiths, carpenters, stonemasons, and goldsmiths.

**The Kammālans.** The name Kammāla is a generic term applied to the five artisan castes, viz., (1) Tattān, or Kamsala (goldsmith); (2) Kannān, or Kanchara (brazier); (3) Kollan, or Kammara (blacksmith); (4) Tac'chan, or Vadra (carpenter); and (5) Kal Tac'chan, or Silpi (stonemason). There is a tradition current among the Kammālas to the effect that they are descended from Visvakarma, the divine architect of the Hindus; and in many parts of the country, they call themselves Visva Brāhmins and claim a status equal to that of the real Brāhmins.

There is epigraphic evidence extant which leaves no room for doubt that so far back as the eleventh century of the Christian era, the Kammálans were regarded as belonging to a very inferior caste; for, like the Paraiyans, Pallans, &c., they, too, were allowed to live aloof from the rest of the village community, in a separate quarter, or *chéri*, of the village. The usual title of Kammálans is *Achári*, and some also style themselves *Pattan*, which corresponds to Bhatta, which is the usual patronymic of the Bráhmans. They also wear the sacred thread. The five main septs into which they are sub-divided, do not intermarry with each other. They have priests of their own, and do not allow even Bráhmans to perform their ceremonies. Girls are married before puberty; and widow-marriage is strictly prohibited. They are forbidden to partake of meat and wine; but this rule is more honoured in the breach than in the observance. They sometimes burn the dead and sometimes bury them in a sitting posture.

The Pallis, Vanniyans, or Padaiyáchis inhabit almost all the

The Pallis.

Tamil districts and earn their living by working as cultivators, fitters, gardeners, hand-cart-draggers, masons, polishers and sawyers. They arrogate to themselves the status of the Kshatriyas; but their pretensions on this score are absurd and utterly unfounded. After the overthrow of the Pallava dynasty, the Pallis were reduced to the position of agricultural labourers under the Vallálas; and it is only since the establishment of British rule in India that they have asserted their claims to a higher status than that which is their birthright. They do not wear the sacred thread, and some of them employ Bráhmans to minister to their spiritual and ceremonial requirements. Their girls are usually married after they have attained puberty; and widows are allowed to re-marry. They both burn and bury the dead. Their ordinary cognomen is Kavandan, or Padaiyáchi; but those among them who aspire to a higher status in the social scale style themselves "Náyakkan."

The Paraiyans, or Pariahs, of the Tamil country number, according to the returns of the census of

The Pariahs or Paraiyans.

1891, over two million souls. They follow the occupations of coachmen, coolies, dressing-boys, fish-sellers, gardeners and horse-keepers. In the earliest times, they must have held a higher status in the social scale, for traces of their superior position and influence survive even at the present day in certain privileges which are still enjoyed by them, as will appear from the following extract:—

"It is well-known that the servile castes in Southern India once held far higher positions, and were, indeed, masters of the land on the arrival of the Bráhmanical caste. Many

curious vestiges of their ancient power still survive in the shape of certain privileges, which are jealously cherished, and, their origin being forgotten, are misunderstood. These privileges are remarkable instances of survivals from an extinct order of society. Shadows of long-departed supremacy, bearing witness to a period when the present haughty high-caste races were suppliants before the ancestors of degraded classes, whose touch is now regarded as pollution. At Mélkotta, the chief seat of the followers of Rámánuja-áchárya, and at the Bráhma Temple at Bailur, the Holeyars, or Pareyars, have the right of entering the temple on three days in the year specially set apart for them. In the great festival of Siva at Tiruválúr in Tanjore, the headman of the Pareyars is mounted on the elephant with the god, and carries his *chauri*. In Madras, at the annual festival of the goddess of Black Town, when a *tali* is tied round the neck of the idol in the name of the entire community, a Pareyar is chosen to represent the bridegroom."

The Pariahs have been but little influenced by Bráhmanical doctrines and usages, though, as regards ceremonial rites, they have been to a certain extent affected by the latter. They are nominally Saivites, but in reality they worship demons and beings of that ilk. They usually employ Valluvas to officiate as their priests. Among them, girls are usually married after they have attained puberty. A Pariah husband can easily divorce his wife by sending her away whenever he likes, and the wife, on her part, can easily dissolve the marriage-bond by simply returning the *tali*. In such cases the husband has the care of the children born of the union, or contributes for their maintenance. Widows are, as a general rule, allowed to marry a second time. The Pariahs usually bury their dead.

The distinguishing characteristics of the Bráhmans, Kammálans, Pallis and Pariahs, as deduced from their measurements, may be stated as follows: The Bráhmans are characterised by the greatest weight, greatest breadth of head, greatest distance from the middle finger to the patella, and the longest hand. The Kammálans are distinguishable from the other three classes by the shortness of their stature, hand and foot; and the Pallis and Pariahs are characterised by the close relation of their weight, height, difference between span and height, distance from the middle finger to the patella, and length of hand.

The average heights of the principal tribes and castes, anthropometrically investigated by Dr. Edgar Thurston, are shown in the following table:—

(a). Very tall, 170 cm. and upwards.

Nil.

(b). Above middle height, 170 to 165 cm.

Todas ...

... 169.6

- (c). Below middle height, 165 to 160 cm.  
 Badagas ... 164.1  
 Kotas ... 162.9  
 Brāhmans (Madras City) 162.5  
 Pallis ... 162.5  
 Tamil Pariahs .. 161.9  
 (d). Low stature below 160 cm.  
 Irulas ... 159.8  
 Kammālans ... 159.7  
 Pāniyans ... 157.4

The Todas, according to these measurements, possess approximately the same stature as the Irish (169.7 cm.), and, to quote Dr. Thurston's words, "just miss the dignity of being included with the English among the very tall races of the world." Between the Todas and the next tallest class, the Badagas, there is a well-defined gap of 5.5 cm. But there is a gradual decrease in stature from the Badagas to the Pariahs. There is, however, a gap of 2.1 cm. between the Pariahs, who are the lowest representatives of middle height, and the Irulas, who are the tallest among the peoples of low stature. Among the classes of middle height, the uniformity of the height of the Brāhmans and the Pallis is noteworthy. So also is the presence of the Kammālans among the tribes possessed of low stature, amid the humble environment of the Irulas and the Paniyans.

The length of the upper extremities, in the tribes and castes above referred to, relative to stature, as ascertained by the determination of the distance from the tip of the middle finger to the top of the knee-cap (patella), when the subject is at attention with the extensor muscles of the thigh relaxed, is shown by the following table :—

	Average.	Average relative to stature = 100.
Badagas ...	12.2	7.4
Pattar Brāhmans ...	11.3	6.9
Irulas ...	10.7	6.7
Kotas ...	10.7	6.6
Tamil Brāhmans ...	10.1	6.2
Tamil Pariahs ...	9.4	5.8
Pallis ...	9.5	5.8
Kammālans ...	8.4	5.3
Todas ...	9	5.3
Paniyans ...	7.3	4.4

The more the distance diminishes, the greater is the length of the upper extremities. The arm then is shortest in the Badagas, and longest in the short, broad-nosed Paniyans, who approach the Negro average (4.37).

Arranging these tribes and castes in sequence, according to the cephalic index, that is to say, the ratio of the length to the breadth of the head, the results may be stated as follows :—



Dolichocephalic (of which the cephalic index is 75 and under.)

Badagas	...	...	...	71.7
Pallis	...	...	...	73
Todas	...	...	...	73.1
Tamil Pariahs	...	...	...	73.6
Paniyans	...	...	...	74
Kotas	...	...	...	74.1
Pattar Brāhmans	...	...	...	74.5
Kammālans	...	...	...	75

Sub-dolichocephalic (of which the cephalic index is 75.01 to 77.77).

Brāhmans (Madras City)	...	...	...	76.5
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It is clear from the foregoing statement that the dolichocephalic head is the prevailing type of Southern India.

Another very important basis of classification of, and aid to the elucidation of the origin of, castes and tribes is the nasal index or the relation of the height of the nose, measured from the under surface (not the tip), to the breadth measured across the widest part of the nostrils when at rest. In the following statement are classified the castes and tribes mentioned above, according to the range of their nasal indices, *i.e.*, the difference between the maximum and minimum recorded in each case :—

10—20.

Badagas	...	...	...	15.7
Todas	...	...	...	17.9
Kotas	...	...	...	18.9

20—30.

Paniyans	...	...	...	24.9
Kammālans	...	...	...	27.6
Irulas	...	...	...	27.7

30—40.

Pattar Brāhmans	...	...	...	30.1
Pallis	...	...	...	34.3
Brāhmans (Madras City)	...	...	...	35.1
Tamil Pariahs	...	...	...	39

The most noteworthy fact, as will appear from the aforesaid statement, is that the tribes whose nasal indices are least subject to variation, are the Badagas, Todas and Kotas, who inhabit the plateau of the Nilgiri Hills; and that those whose nasal indices have the greatest variation (exceeding 30), are a group of Tamil classes made up of Brāhmans, Pallis, and Pariahs of Madras City and the Pattar Brāhmans descended from east-coast Tamil Brāhmans.

The bulletins under review are only the initial issues of a series which it is proposed to publish from time to time, embodying in detail the results of an anthropological and ethnographical survey of the various tribes and castes which inhabit Southern India. Manifold are the difficulties which beset anthropological research among savage tribes and ignorant, superstitious peoples. These rude, unlettered folk are quite incapable of appreciating the motives with which they are measured, and, more often than not, misconstrue them as proceeding from a sinister purpose. The anthropologist has often to exercise a good deal of tact and patience for the purpose of disabusing them of their suspicious notions, and sometimes to coax them, in cases of sullen recalcitrance, even with presents of money, eatables and tobacco, into yielding to his wishes and subjecting themselves to examination.

Difficulties such as these often stood in the way of Dr. Thurston, who, for instance, says that none of the Paniyan women could be persuaded to allow him to measure them, as they believed that he had come there for the purpose of securing and stuffing the finest specimens among them for the Madras Museum. Similarly, the Muppas of the Wynaad would not allow him to examine them, and they refused under the impression that he had come for the purpose of enlisting the strongest men among their community as soldiers. Another man who was "wanted" by the Police for some crime committed long ago, came to be measured, but absolutely refused to submit to the operation, thinking that the height-measuring standard was the gallows. Nor would he allow himself to be photographed, as he was afraid that his photograph might be used for the purpose of criminal identification.

All these difficulties, however, were successfully overcome by Dr. Edgar Thurston; and the results achieved by him are not only highly interesting, but also of great scientific value, inasmuch as they are calculated to throw a flood of light on doubtful problems connected with the anthropology and ethnography of the tribes and castes investigated by him.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

HUTWA :  
*The 18th June 1897.* }

ART. IX.—TRANSLITERAL *versus* PHONETIC  
ROMANISATION.

WHEN a people speaking a particular language and using a particular character for the representation of the sounds of that language come to have intercourse with another people speaking a different language and writing it in a different character, the writing of proper names current among each of the two peoples in the character used by the other becomes an absolute necessity. Besides proper names, certain words belonging to either language, to which correspond no existing words in the other, have likewise to be adopted in this other language and written in the character used in writing it. When Europeans of different nationalities—Portuguese, English, French, Dutch and Danish—came to have intercourse with India, there arose the necessity of writing Indian proper names in the Roman character, which is the character used in common by all the nations of Western Europe and their off-shoots in other parts of the world, and also of writing European proper names in the different characters in use in India. Besides proper names, a number of Portuguese words, such as 'padre' and 'lielam,' came to be Indianised. The process of Indianising English words still continues, as does, to a smaller extent, the reverse process of Anglicising Indian words.

During the earlier stages of intercourse between Europeans and Indians, the written forms of the languages of India were not so much an object of concern to Europeans as the spoken forms of these languages. The English conquest, again, of India drove almost entirely out of the country the other European languages, and the consequence was that all sorts of Indian proper names appeared before the world in an Anglicised garb. Now, Englishmen, though they use the Roman alphabet, give to certain letters of that alphabet powers different from those that are properly theirs, and so Indian proper names, as pronounced by Englishmen resident in India, have come to be written in the Roman character after the English way of using that character. Hindústání being the dominant vernacular tongue in India, and the one best known to the ruling English race, proper names current even outside the area of Hindústán proper have come to be Anglicised through their Hindústání forms. Thus we have Calcutta for Kalkattá, Burdwan for Bardwán, Mookerjea for Mukurjá and Dutt for Datt, the corresponding current (not written) Bangáli names being Kôlketá, Baddômán (or, after the written name, Bardhómán), Mukurje and Dattô.

When Englishmen and other Europeans took to studying Oriental languages in a scholarly way, the way being led by that eminent English Orientalist, Sir William Jones, it was but natural that a scholarly method of representing the sounds of Oriental tongues should take the place of the rough and ready English method. Sir William Jones himself devised a scholarly system of Roman transliteration, and this system has formed the basis of all other systems subsequently adopted.

If all Oriental languages were phonetically written, transliteration, in respect of them, into the Roman character, would be an easy matter enough, and would give rise to no sort of practical inconvenience. It so happens, however, that Bangálí and other Oriental languages are not phonetically written. Their system of writing is 'historical,' as the phrase goes, *i.e.*, non-phonetic in a large measure. In fact, Bangálí writing, though not quite so non-phonetic as English writing is, is non-phonetic in no stinted measure for all that. Transliteration here is weighted with the heavy disadvantage that those for whose benefit the process is mainly intended, namely, persons ignorant of, or but imperfectly acquainted with, the Bangálí graphic system, are in a large measure mystified by it, and not enlightened. The following concrete examples will make this clear: To one ignorant of written Bangálí, or having only a slight knowledge of it, দেয় (due) and দেয় (gives), written exactly alike but pronounced very differently, would be a tremendous puzzle, if presented in a transliterated Roman form. The first দেয় would, after the Sanskrit देय, be transliterated *dēya*. The second is, letter for letter, the same as the first, and according to current practice, would have to be transliterated just in the same way, though it varies vastly in sound. It is monosyllabic, to begin with, while the other is dissyllabic; and it is sounded, dæ (*a* in the diphthong here not having the sound it has in Latin, but that of *a* in the English word 'man'), while the other is sounded in Bangálí as de-a, which is not exactly the same as the corresponding Sanskrit sound de-ya. The Sanskrit दक्षिण is appropriately transliterated dakṣhiṇa. But how is the Bangálí দক্ষিণ, which is the Bangálí transliterated form of दक्षिणा though in sound a good deal unlike it, to be Romanised? Romanised phonetically, it would be dōkkhin; for that is its sound. By a well established convention in Bangálí writing, ক্ষ, medial or final, has the sound of kkh, while ক initial has the sound of kh. Another instance in point is the Bangálí word লক্ষী, which is the Sanskrit लक्ष्मी transliterated into the Bangálí character; but, while the latter is

sounded lakshmī, the latter is usually sounded lõkkihī, even the veriest pedant of a Pandit in a village school carrying it no nearer to the Sanskrit sound than lõkkihīn\*. The word ब्रह्मण will be my closing example. It is pronounced Brāmmhan by those who aim at correctness, but ordinarily Brāmbhan, while the corresponding Sanskrit word ब्रह्मण is pronounced Brāhmaṇa.

Again, the set of Roman characters, including those bearing diacritical marks, used in transliterating Sanskrit words, while superfluous for Bangālī in some cases, is deficient in certain others. The superfluities need not here be pointed out, for corresponding superfluous characters are used in Bangālī writing. The deficiencies, however, demand notice, for the duplicate or triplicate function performed by certain Bangālī characters cannot well be assigned to their accepted Roman analogues. The vowel অ has two distinct sounds, namely, the usual long sound, as in the inherent অ of অ in অল (the short অ sound as in the inherent অ of অ in the Hindi word जल being wanting in Bangālī), and the short o sound, as that of the inherent অ in হরি. This short sound, again, is not exactly the short sound of ও in গোল, but is slightly different, as is disclosed by a comparison of the sound of ও in গোল (round) and that of the inherent অ of ও in গলে or গলিয়া (being liquefied). The vowel আ, again, has, in addition to its ordinary long sound, as in কাল (time), a slightly different sound, as in কাল (to-morrow or yesterday). এ, besides having two clearly distinct sounds, as (1) in এবং or দেশ and as (2) in এক or দেখা, has a third sound which is slightly different from that of এ in এবং or দেশ. This sound is the sound of the first এ in মেজে (floor), as distinct from that of the two এ's in মেজে (on table). The consonant চ has two distinct sounds, that of চ in পাঁচ দিন and that of চ in পাঁচ টাকা. This second sound is common in East Bengal, as is the z sound, which is not properly represented by any Bangālī character.

Transliteration, then, as applied at present to Bangālī largely, non-phonetically written as it is, and in characters which have come to be transcribed into Roman characters after a certain recognised method, is attended with certain serious drawbacks. The object of writing being the representation of sounds as they are uttered by the human voice, every system of writing that does not exactly represent words as they are spoken, must be held objectionable, as throwing unnecessary difficulties in the way of those who have to learn to read and write. The earliest

\* The y here is put for the nasal n of the French word mon.

kind of alphabetic writing could not have been other than phonetic. Among modern cultivated languages, Italian, at any rate, is phonetically written. It has been the misfortune, however, of many languages, English and Bangál among the rest, that, after the sounds of words had been modified, owing to certain irresistible tendencies of speech, their spelling, as fixed in some particular period of the literary history of the peoples speaking them, has persisted. These languages have been thus saddled with what is called 'historical spelling'; a misnomer, by the way, for the word 'historical' does not here apply to the entire literary history of a people, but only to some particular period of such history, that is, the period when the fixation of the spelling that continues down to the present day took place. 'A historical atlas' does not give territorial limits as they exist at any particular time; but shows the successive changes that such limits have undergone down to the date of publication of the atlas. 'Historical,' in 'historical spelling,' then, bears a sense different from that of 'historical' in 'historical atlas.' A change from non-phonetic to phonetic spelling in respect of any language would be a notable event in the history of the people speaking that language, in that it would make their spelling an up-to-date piece of business.

Spelling reform movements have been going on in England and in France, and, it may be, in other countries also, but nowhere can there be any likelihood of immediate success, for the incubus of 'historical spelling' has its support in the prepossessions of the learned; in the natural attachment of the human mind to an order of things that has lasted long; in the mental inertness of the mass of mankind, which indisposes them to have the existing order of things disturbed in any way; in the pecuniary interests of booksellers, bookowners and printers, and, above all, in the fact that natives born to a historically written language have not to learn the sounds of words in that language through their spelling, as foreigners have to do. If English children had to learn the sounds of words like 'night' and 'sign' through their spelling, the English people would have revolted against their monstrous spelling system long ago. It is greatly to be regretted that English, the language of a race which, besides being politically, industrially and commercially the foremost race in the world, is intellectually one of the three foremost among the races of men—a language that appears destined, at no very distant date, to become the cosmopolitan tongue among civilised men in fuller measure than French has ever been—should continue to be spelt in so abominably bad a way.

If, in such rapidly progressive countries as England and France, the move towards phonetic writing makes such small

progress, it would be absurd to suppose that in slow-moving India there could be any ready acceptance of phonetic, in lieu of 'historical,' writing. Assuming, then, Hindústání in its two phases, Urdú and Hindí, and Bangálí and Uriyá, to continue to be written as they are at present, the question would be whether a close system of Roman transliteration should be adopted in respect of them, or whether words and names, as they are sounded in them, should be phonetically represented in the Roman character?

The evils of transliteration as applied to Bangálí have already been touched upon. It is time now to speak of Hindústání. The Urdú phase of Hindústání usually appropriates to itself the name of Hindústání. This is illegitimate. For the sake of precision, the Urdú phase may well be called Urdú-Hindústání, it seems, and the Hindí phase, Hindí-Hindústání. Alone among the Indian vernaculars, Urdú is now largely printed and written in the Roman character, and proposals have even been made for the installation of this character in place of the Persian in Indian courts of law, though as yet without success. There is good reason, however, for believing that ultimately the Persian character must give way before the Roman, which, besides being neutral as between the Persian, peculiar to the Musalman minority, and the Nágarí (in its various forms), peculiar to the Hindu majority, has the crowning recommendation of being the character used by the ruling English race. Hindústání-speaking Musalmans, though much less numerous than Hindústání-speaking Hindus, have much greater cohesion among themselves, and wield, besides, a social and political preponderance which has come to them partly through racial characteristics, but far more through political supremacy exercised for hundreds of years. The preponderant social and political position of Musalmans in Upper India, though it is likely to be daily weakened under the *régime* of open competition and no favour as between Musalman and Hindu that characterises the English *Ráj*, must long continue to be a factor to be counted with. Any attempt, in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, to displace the Persian character by the Devanágari, or any Káithí, or Mahájani form of Nágarí, would call forth powerful, persistent and bitter opposition. The example of Bihar would be delusive; for in Bihar the Musalman element is far less dominant than further west, and even in Bihar there has been opposition. In the Punjab, again, where the Musalmans form the majority of the population, they are masters of the situation. No form of Nágarí, therefore, is in a position to drive the Persian character out of Indian courts of law as the State-recognised character for Hindústání-writing. If the Persian character

is to be driven out, it is to be driven out only by the Roman. The present imperial character alone can dethrone the old imperial character. Indian Musalmans cannot, after all, reasonably object to Roman Hindústání taking the place, in public business, of Hindústání written in the Persian character. The process of Romanisation would be only analogous to their own process of Persianisation. As the ruling class in former days, they sought to make things convenient for themselves. As the ruling class at the present day, why should not the English in India follow suit? Why should they not rid themselves of the heavy tax upon their time and attention which learning to read and write Urdú in the Persian character involves?

How heavy this tax is, can be rightly estimated only by non-Hindústánís who have addressed themselves to the task of learning to read and write Urdú. Maulavis, I can say from personal knowledge, fail to read cursive Urdú writing satisfactorily, and, where Maulavis fail, Europeans can hope to succeed only after a vast expenditure of effort. That Roman Urdú, in place of Persian Urdú, would greatly facilitate the acquisition of this language by Europeans, and largely facilitate thereby the carrying on of administrative, judicial, and military business in India, can admit of no doubt whatever. The time may not be ripe yet for the Roman character to supplant the Persian, as also the newly installed Káithí Nágari of Bihar, in our courts of law; but the very existence of Roman Urdú makes it quite a practical question whether the process of Romanisation, as now applied to Urdú, should not rid itself of certain impediments that at present encumber its path.

There is another aspect of Roman Urdú that also demands consideration. The Urdú and Hindí phases of Hindústání now stand apart, and the divergence between them tends to increase with the increasing cultivation of each, the former drawing more and more upon Arabic, and the latter more and more upon Sanskrit. Urdú, again, puts forward, as Hindústání terms fit to be in everybody's mouth, such downright Persianisms as *Kaisar-i-Hind*,\* which is Hindústání just as much as *L'Impératrice de l'Inde* or *La Reine de l'Angleterre* is English, and no more. It would be a good deal

\* The word 'kaisar' could properly be naturalised in Hindústání as the equivalent of 'emperor'; and, if so naturalised, it would give rise to a feminine 'kaisarín.' Such a feminine would meet a want. When India comes to have a reigning emperor in place of a reigning empress, how is the wife of the emperor to be styled? She could not be appropriately styled 'kaisar' in the sense of emperor's wife. To take 'kaisar' as the equivalent of both 'emperor' and 'empress,' is thus attended with a difficulty.



better, 'it seems, to appropriate bodily the English words 'emperor' and 'empress,' and to render 'Empress of India' into Hindústání as 'Hindústán kí Empres,' than to have recourse to the Arabo-Persianised form of 'Cæsar,' and adopt it as the Hindústání equivalent of 'emperor' as well as of 'empress.' Káisar-i-Hind and Sitára-i-Hind and such-like expressions, though they are now used in Hindí, are used only as alien, not as naturalised, terms.

The undue domination of Arabic and Persian over the genuine Hindústání speech has naturally been bringing about a re-action among the Hindus. The *Nágari Prachārini Sabhá* of Benares well represents this re-action. The *Sabhá* has been doing useful work in raising Hindí from its down-trodden position; but its reports, like other recent Hindí publications, show a tendency towards an increased Sanskritisation of Hindí style—towards a displacement of current expressions by superfluous importations from Sanskrit.

Are Urdú and Hindí, then, to stand perpetually apart, or is there to be ultimately a reconciliation between them, resulting in the formation of a common cultivated tongue for all Hindústání-speaking people? That such a reconciliation will ultimately take place, it is by no means be unreasonable to suppose; and towards a thorough reconciliation, I believe, with Mr. Growse, the adoption of Roman for Persian and Nágari characters would be a necessary step. It may be allowed to Indians to hope that, when Roman come to take the place of Indian characters, there may be a scientific, and not a slavish, adoption of the former, so that the advantage of scientific precision that marks out the Devanágari and allied alphabets from the other alphabets of the world may not be lost to the Indian peoples.

In the Hindústání of the future, with its Urdú and Hindí phases no longer at strife, the Arabo-Persian element would, it seems, be comparatively weakened, the Sanskrit element comparatively strengthened, and an English element would have a recognised place. English must be the culture-language of future generations of Hindus and Musalmans alike. Its influence, therefore, must be wider than that of Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit singly. English would thus have a right to furnish its quota of terms to Hindústání, a right which even now it has exercised practically to some extent. As a knowledge of English spreads among Hindústání-speaking people, the process of appropriation of English terms by Hindústání will be quickened, just as a knowledge of Persian spreading among Hindus quickened the process of appropriation of Arabic and Persian terms. The fact, again, that Europeans residing in India and men of European descent born in India, whose vernacular

tongue is for the most part English, speak Hindústání for more largely than any other Indian vernacular, would also tend in some measure to help the infusion of an English element into Hindústání. From its past history, Hindústání, among all the vernaculars of India, has acquired the greatest aptitude for assimilating foreign elements, so that it would offer little resistance to the introduction of English words that would supply any kind of need. But all this is a vision of the future—the distant future—; and many will, no doubt, set it down as the vision of a visionary.

To return now to the Urdú graphic system. So far as the Indian, or Hindí, element in it is concerned, Urdú is entirely a phonetically written language. The foreign Arabic element is also to a large extent phonetically written, but not entirely, for in certain words of Arabic origin, distinct characters, as in the original Arabic, are used, though the original distinction in sound has disappeared in Urdú. Thus  $\text{ت}$  and  $\text{ط}$ , and  $\text{س}$  and  $\text{ز}$ , and  $\text{ث}$  and  $\text{ذ}$  no way differ in sound, in Hindústání, though they do so in Arabic. The step taken by Dr. Fallon, in his Hindústání-English Dictionary, of representing  $\text{ت}$  and  $\text{ط}$  by *t*,  $\text{ث}$  and  $\text{ذ}$  by *s*, and  $\text{ز}$  and  $\text{ظ}$  by *z*, is doubtless a step in the right direction, for it does away with distinctions that carry with them no differences.\* It substitutes, in fact, the principle of phonetic Romanisation for the principle of transliteration into the Roman character. Transliteration, however, remains the general practice.

Dr. Ranking, in his *Guide to Hindústání*, third edition, 1895, gives on pp. 2-3 the system of transliteration adopted, as he says on p. 4, by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society. This system, though a very accurate one in respect of the Arabic language, would answer very badly for Urdú, for it represents  $\text{ت}$  by *t*,  $\text{ط}$  by *h*,  $\text{ث}$  by *d*,  $\text{ذ}$  by *d*, a particular diacritical mark being placed over *t*, *h*, and the *d* that represents  $\text{ث}$ , and two dots being placed under the *d* that represents  $\text{ذ}$ . Fortunately for the students of his *Guide*, the learned Doctor does not follow the Society's method in the body of the book, but follows the orthodox method that has been in use so long. Even this orthodox method, it may here be added, causes serious practical difficulties in certain cases. In the *Guide* referred to above,  $\text{دفع}$  is transliterated *daf'h* (p. 46), and  $\text{فتح}$ , *fath* (p. 24). The words in these Roman garbs can hardly give the foreign learner any idea that their

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\* Dr. Fallon's representation of  $\text{ذ}$  (a purely Persian, not an Arabic character) by *z* admits of no justification, for  $\text{ذ}$  has the sound of *s* in the English word 'division,' and not that of *z*. But words with  $\text{ذ}$  are very rare in Urdú.

sounds are dafa and fata, respectively. Forbes in his Dictionary —has daʿa and faṭh, and Fallon has dafa (with the initial form of the Arabic letter ʿ over the second a to show that this a represents ʿ) and fatah. The Arabic ʿ, having lost its sound in Urdú, may well be ignored altogether in Roman Urdú.

Hindí, Bangálí, Uriyá and other Indian vernaculars are less concerned with transliteration than Urdú is ; but they are all concerned with it to a certain extent. Transliteration is a subject for the Bengal Executive Service Departmental Examinations in Hindí, Bangálí and Uriyá, as in Urdú, and for these examinations a system of transliteration has been authoritatively prescribed. Now, in the first three languages many words are written exactly as they are in Sanskrit, though they are pronounced differently, Bangálí being the greatest sinner in this respect. Would it not be well, then, if in respect of these and other non-phonetically written Sanskrit-derived vernaculars of India, the powers of the letters with which they are written were taken into account, and Roman characters answering to those powers were used, instead of Roman characters that are the proper literal equivalents of Devanagari characters as used in writing Sanskrit ? Hindí is written in a non-phonetic way to only a slight extent as compared with Bangálí, the Hindí sounds of the Devanagari characters having diverged far less from the original Sanskrit sounds than have the Bangálí sounds of the corresponding Bangálí characters. Uriyá, too, is not quite phonetically written. I learn from an Uriyá Bráhmaṇ born in the Cuttack District that the word written, after Sanskrit, dakṣiṇá, is pronounced dakhiṇá, and that the word written Lakṣmí is pronounced Lakhmí.

Transliteration, as applied to all Hindí, Bangálí and Uriyá writing, is of interest to only a comparatively small number of persons, after all. But, as applied to proper names, it is of interest to thousands, not alone to natives born to any of the above languages, but also to those to whom the languages are foreign. To the European foreigner it is by no means a light burden to carry in the mind that a man whom he hears called Ganendra is Jnánendra or Jnanendra in writing, and that Khet-tör is Kshetra. This "pedantic nuisance" of transliteral Romanisation has been forced upon him by learned men of the West who are versed in the languages of the East.

It is a fortunate thing, however, that no learned Oriental has up to this time thought of transliterating into any Oriental character proper names as they are written in the Roman. If transliteration, instead of phonetic Romanisation, be the right kind of thing when Oriental names have to be written in the Roman character, transliteration ought to be the right kind of thing

when European proper names have to be written in any Oriental character. Let us test how transliteration into the Bangálí character would work here. To take only the names of the successive Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal—Halliday, Grant, Beadon, Grey, Campbell, Eden, Thompson, Bayley, Elliot, Macdonnell, Mackenzie and Stevens: These names transliterated into Bángálí characters would be, respectively, হাল্লিডায় (\*or হাল্লিডায়), গ্রান্ট (\*or গ্রান্ট), বেআদোন (\*or বেআডোন), গ্রেয়, কাম্পবেল, এডেন (\*or এডেন), থোম্পসোন (\*or ঠোম্পসোন), বায়লেয়, এল্লিওং (\*or এল্লিওং), মাকদোনেল (\*or মাকডোনেল), মাককেনজিএ, and স্টেবেন্স (\*or ষ্টেবেন্স). If it would be a detestable bother to a Bangálí to have to write হাল্লিডায় or হাল্লিডায় and pronounce it হ্যালিডে, it must be a detestable bother to a European to write Jnanendra and pronounce it Ganendra.

The spoken form of a language at any particular time is certainly its most advanced, though not necessarily its most improved, phase. The written form is archaic in comparison. Men have now come to see that the more closely the written form of a language conforms to its spoken form, the better it is. To secure as close a conformity as may be, it is necessary that phonetic spelling should take the place of 'historical spelling.' Such a change may not be practicable at present. But to maintain 'historical spelling,' where it exists, is one thing, and to transfer its evils to names and words, 'historically spelt' in one kind of character, when they have to be written in a different kind of character, is another thing. That certain evils cannot be prevented, is no reason why they should be propagated. Transliteration applied to 'historically spelt' names and words amounts to a propagation of evils. Phonetic Romanisation has thus a very good title to supersede transliteral Romanisation.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

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\* D and t would be transcribed দ and ত, or ড and ট respectively, according as their Latin or English powers are considered. In transcribing Bangálí characters into Roman, their Sanskrit, and not their Bangálí powers, are usually considered.

† ট in Bangálí writing is always preceded by ঞ (instead of ন) and by ষ (instead of স.)

# ART. X.—THE PROGRESSIVE COOLING OF THE NORTHERN HEMISPHERE AND OF NORTHERN INDIA.

**T**HERE are seven astronomical cycles which influence our religious and physical environment. The first five are as follows ;—

- (1). Apparently SOLAR, really TERRENE ; the daily revolution of the earth on its axis.
- (2). LUNAR, or monthly ; the revolution of the moon-planet round the earth. This fixes the so-called moveable feasts of the Church, such as Easter, which are thus lunar feasts.
- (3). SOLAR, or yearly ; the revolution of our double planet, "earth and moon," round the sun, which gives the so-called fixed feasts, such as Christmas, which are thus solar feasts.
- (4). The LUNAR cycle of about  $18\frac{1}{3}$  years, which causes all eclipses, conjunctions and occultations of the planets with the moon to repeat themselves every  $18\frac{1}{3}$  years, and brings the lunar feasts back to the same date in this cycle of years.
- (5). THE PRECESSION OF THE EQUINOX CYCLE, otherwise called the Great-Orphic, or Zodiacal year. This is brought about by the combined attraction of the sun and moon upon the greater or equatorial diameter of the earth, which causes the axis of the earth to wobble in a cycle of which the exact period is slightly variable, as a spinning peg-top wobbles just before it falls. At present the yearly advance of the pole is  $50\frac{1}{4}$  seconds of one degree of a circle, as given in the *Times of India* Calendar, which rate would complete the circle in 25,800 years. The observations on which this calculation is based have been carried on by modern astronomers only for the past 150 years. The ancients gave the length of the cycle or circle of the North Pole in the heavens as 24,000 years. But that, like all even numbers in astronomical matters, can have been intended only to represent an average, or near approximation to the actual period.

Our celestial North Pole, 5,000 years ago, was in the Dragon, and its pointers were the two stars forming the front of Charles' Wain, *i.e.*, the two next the three stars forming the

tail of the Great Bear. At the present time the pointers are the two outer stars of the Great Bear, *i.e.*, the two rear stars of Charles' Wain. When the position of the precession cycle is such that the earth in the northern winter is nearest the sun at the shortest day, December 21, the earth rushes past the sun at such increased speed that the winter half of the year, as counted from the autumnal to the vernal equinox, is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  days shorter than the summer half, as counted from the vernal to the autumnal equinox.

This causes the ice to melt at the northern ice cap and releases the sea from its attraction to this ice cap. The time comes when the ice more or less suddenly breaks away, a process prolonged and repeated possibly over several successive centuries; "the waters of the great deep are broken up," and the present physical conformation of the earth, as exhibited in the physical map of the Northern Hemisphere, is such that the waters then accumulated over European Russia and Siberia can escape only through the Black Sea, *via* the Dardanelles and Mediterranean, into the Atlantic. The full stress of this flood concentrates on the Southern shore of the Black Sea, in Mesopotamia, and thus caused Noah's flood. When the sea retreated from the land, the *juventus mundi* began; the forests began to grow; the retreat of the sea and the exposure of the land to the genial warmth of the sun caused the former glacial climate suddenly to cease; the Alps were melted down to their present limits, and the development of the white races of Northern Europe began.

The new school of geologists state that the glacial epoch was in full force 7,000 years ago at the Niagara Falls in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and in the valley of the Mississippi. The maximum warmth in the Northern Hemisphere occurred in the year 1248 B. C., 3,145 years ago, at the date of the maximum of summer days. Since that date reverse conditions have set in and the northern hemisphere is getting steadily colder, so much so that forests have ceased to grow in Northern Russia and Siberia, in the north temperate zone. This increased cold caused the irruption of the Tartars, or Huns, from Dsungaria into Hungary, and of the Goths Vandals and Germans into the ancient Roman Empire, bringing about its ruin, and led at a later date to the irruptions of the Norwegians and Danes into England. The same causes help to explain the overthrow of the Chinese Empire by the Tartars under Genghis Khan, the irruption of the same Tartars into India under the name of Moghals, or Mongols, and into Asiatic Turkestan and Russian Europe up to the time of Peter the Great, as Turks, or Tartars. To the same causes are due the hungering of the Russians for more genial southern climes, of

which the conquest of their old enemies the Turks is but a phase.

The Russian movement to the south will probably be stopped for a generation or more by the necessity of re-peopling the fertile regions of the Bactrian Kingdom, up to the Hindu Kush and Thian Shan, and of settling the immense belt of fertile wheat-growing country on each side of the Siberian Railway along Southern Siberia and the northern slope of the Chinese plateau, extending from the States of Tartary and Dsungaria to the Pacific Ocean.

The permanent rise of the sea level under these reverse conditions, owing to the attraction of the ever-increasing ice cap in Greenland, caused the overwhelming, 800 years ago, of the low-lying fertile ground in Thanet-island, near Margate, which then belonged to a monastery, and is now called Godwin Sands. At the same date began the first irruption in Holland of the Zuyder Sea, over the then existing wheat fields of the Issel river, or lower Rhine. These irruptions and extensions of the sea have gone on continuously, so that the fishing vessels in this sea are now constructed to draw eight feet of water and sail in the shallowest neap tides over what were once smiling cornfields. The Netherlands Government fifteen years ago reclaimed the Haarlem Lake from the sea at a cost of two millions sterling after a Company had failed to complete the work. This lake is 18 feet below sea level and is kept dry by the continuous pumping of powerful steam engines. The writer saw corn growing in the bed of the lake when he was there, eight years ago. The Government now propose to reclaim the Zuyder Sea at the cost of thirty millions sterling. In the year 1889 the excavation for the first portion of the work, a canal for ocean going ships and steamers from Amsterdam to Rotterdam, was in full progress. This canal is now completed, and the Government are discussing the best means of carrying to a successful issue the biggest reclamation from the sea that has ever been attempted.

The effects due to the permanent rise of the sea levels are just as noticeable in the Mediterranean. Travellers have noted that the plinths, or ground floors, of the Roman Villas in the bays of Alexandria, Tyre and Naples, and in many other places, are under water. The Encyclopedia Britannica states that, during the past 100 years, the Greenland fishing villages evangelised by the missionaries have sunk 15 feet into the sea, and other villages have had to be built further inland in their place. The real effect is not that the land has sunk, but that the sea has risen. When in Venice 16 years ago, the writer saw that the wharves of all the canals were being raised three feet, and the outfall of their main drain, or *cloaca maxima*, was also being raised to the same extent. We see the same effects in a modi-

fied form in Bombay. The top of the stone embankment on the Kennedy Sea Face was, two years ago, raised to a higher level. The permanent rise of the monsoon sea level has been noticed at the P. and O. and British India Dry Docks in Mazagon. As the years go on, our Bombay wharfs on the Port Trust Estate will have to be raised, and the Municipality will have to provide more powerful pumping engines to keep down the monsoon floods, owing to the increased inability of the sea to perform this duty. But for this pumping, it would be necessary in the course of years for the Municipality to insist upon the plinths of houses on the Esplanade and other reclamations being permanently raised.

A reference to the Calendar, the particulars of which are taken from the Official Nautical Almanac, shows that the vernal equinox of the present year occurred at 1-00 P.M., 20th March, and the autumnal equinox at 0-00 A.M., 23rd September. These figures, on the basis that the length of the year is approximately  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days, show that the summer half of the year is 186 days 11 hours long; the remainder, being the winter half, is 178 days 19 hours long; the difference between these two periods, or 7 days 16 hours, being the additional length of the summer days. These conditions are, of course, exactly reversed in the Southern Hemisphere. The present cycle having commenced, as already stated, in the year 1248 B.C., when the quarter cycle of 5,250 years has been reached, in 4,002 A.D., the number of summer and winter days in the northern and Southern Hemispheres will be exactly equal; after which date the number of winter days will be more than the number of summer days in the Northern Hemisphere and glacial conditions in the north will be greatly intensified.

If we had to wait for a further two thousand years before these glacial conditions set in, the subject would have but an academic interest for us. But we know by practical experience that during the present generation the chilling or cooling conditions have already begun; so much so, indeed, as to make it a positive misery to live through an English winter; and that there is but little amelioration in the Continental winter, unless we make our retreat on or near the northern or southern shores of the Mediterranean.

The writer first began to take a practical interest in this question more than twenty years ago, after reading in Van Nostrand's Magazine, a United States Scientific Monthly, an article which stated that the curve of the earth in the latitude of England would, during each precession cycle, vary between the limits of one quarter and three quarters of a mile above its present position, that is, that the centre of gravity of the earth would change, and the sea would rise above



its present level, overwhelming England to that extent. As the contributors to this magazine were University professors, and men of eminence as astronomers, geologists, chemists, electricians and engineers, it was evident that this alleged change in the curve of the earth was worthy of the most serious study. At that time and for some years later, no literature was obtainable upon the subject; the precession cycle, in astronomical and geographical text books, was, if not actually tabooed, described in such a compressed and slipshod fashion; that it was difficult to understand how this wobble of the earth's axis every 21,000 years could constitute an astronomical epoch, and have such far-reaching physical effects, for, on a cursory perusal, it was not possible to conceive how the astronomical phenomena could cause glacial action. Now a small library is obtainable, showing how the one class of phenomena produces the other. The simplest and best of these books is a 2s. 6d. brochure, "The cause of an Ice Age," by Sir Robert Ball, till recently the Astronomer Royal of Ireland, who shows in a most interesting and lively way, his facts confirmed by pure mathematical reasoning, that this excess of summer days, and its opposite, works with accumulative geometrical effect upon the climate of the world. To confirm this, we have, as already stated, the New Geologists coming forward with their proofs from the Surveys, or Ordnance maps, that the last glacial epoch was in full force, not 700,000, but only seven thousand years ago, at the Niagara Falls and in the Valley of the Mississippi!

In a lecture delivered during the current year at the Society of Arts, on "Arctic and Antarctic," Mr. Aubyn Trevor Battye states: "How Arctic geology tells us clearly of a warm period when the spruce, the magnolia and the deciduous cypress, which are existing trees in the present geological epoch, flourished there," while the excavations still being made in the ice of the New Siberian Islands for mammoth's tusks, in which the flesh upon the carcasses of these animals is eaten by the wild dogs as the protecting ice is cleared away, show how recent is the date when this extinct race flourished on the earth. The writer has seen these immense tusks in the London Docks, imported as an ordinary article of commerce. The same lecturer stated that, "though the forests have disappeared on the shores of the Arctic Sea through excess of cold, yet that there are one creeping birch and three species of willow still in existence which are seldom more than two inches high and of the thickness of a cedar pencil!"

To this we might add that in recent years the cold has become so severe in Iceland that the coarsest northern corn will no longer ripen there; and the whole of the food of the islanders

has to be imported. The reason for this colder climate probably is that the Gulf Stream, not being so strong as in former years, no longer strikes the island, which now gets the full force of the return northern current, laden with icebergs and floes from the Paleo-crystic Sea.

The prevalence of icebergs on the Labrador and Newfoundland coasts has greatly intensified during the past twenty years, making the navigation of the North Atlantic increasingly difficult for all fast and ordinary steamer and sailing ships. Corn, in consequence, will no longer grow in Labrador, which also has to import all its food-supplies.

The lowering of the winter temperature in Northern Europe and America has been also evidenced by the increased frequency of blizzards in Canada and the United States, and by the prolongation of snow-storms in England, and Europe generally, into the late Spring.

For instance, a destructive gale is reported to have taken place at Blackpool, a watering place on the west coast of England, north of Liverpool, on the 16th June of this year, in which the masts of Nelson's old flagship *Foudroyant* were washed overboard and the vessel was wrecked. During the same day a westerly storm of great violence swept over Blackburn, a Lancashire weaving town, north of Manchester. The hay-making, which had only just commenced in the district, was stopped. The weather was bitterly cold in the earlier part of the day, and at 6 A.M. snow fell heavily in the surrounding villages. This date being close to the longest day of the year, 6 A.M. would be long after sunrise. The same storm visited York and Glasgow. It blew from the west, which, being from the direction of the Gulf Stream, is usually soft, mild and damp, and makes Lancashire so suitable for cotton spinning. On this occasion, however, the storm, blowing with great violence and velocity, would bring to England the cold air from Newfoundland and Labrador, where, at that time of the year, the icebergs and floes are being carried south in large masses.

It is now common for the hawthorn, or "May," flowers in the English hedgerows to flower in June, instead of in May. We see the same change in Northern India. For several years past the late snows on the Himalayas have been delayed in their melting by prolonged cold north winds, which have caused the heavy rains to burst a month after the proper time, so that the cotton-planting and picking seasons have been retarded to that extent. During the present year the south-west monsoon did not begin to blow till after the end of May, instead of at the beginning of that month. The current has been so unsteady as to change occasionally to the north-west, while the rains had hardly set in properly at the end of the first week in July.

The large Continental black and white wine grape grew freely in England during Saxon times. It now grows only under glass. The existing open air English grapes are stunted black and white varieties of small berries, the vines of which have to be trained on the south and west walls of country houses, screened from chill winds and exposed to the warm afternoon sun.

We have also exact horticultural information from China, confirmed by the records of their ancient literature. According to the *North China Herald*, "the climate in East and West Asia is becoming colder. That of China is growing, not only colder, but drier. Animals and plants used to hot moist regions are gradually retreating southwards. Two thousand years ago the bamboo flourished in the forests of North China; but it does not now, and at Pekin it is only cultivated under shelter and in favourable localities as a garden plant."

We know that the Continent of Asia is getting colder, because the cold north winds become year by year more prolonged, so that it is now quite a usual occurrence for snow-storms to fall in the Kulu Valley and on the higher ranges of the Kashmir hills late in the month of May. The snow begins to fall in September and continues falling till the following May and June, making the approaches to Gilgit and Chitral unduly difficult.

During the present year these conditions have been intensified in Northern India. Since the beginning of August, Mr. Markham has warned pilgrims against attempting to cross the higher Kashmir passes, stating that there is still ten feet of snow on the Wan-ball Pass, 14,000 feet, and that a heavy fall of snow took place only a few nights previously.

It is true that the great heat of the summer in Southern Siberia, the Chinese desert and Turkestan forces the south-west monsoon to melt the snows on the southern slopes of the Himalayas; but, if the snow-fall on the higher ranges should, in any one unusually stormy season, be prolonged through the summer into the month of September, or even of August, we might expect that new conditions would suddenly become established. The snow having failed to melt for one year, the accumulated cold would probably prevent the melting during each successive year, and cause the new ice to solidify into permanent glaciers, which would result in a permanent retardation, and possibly a deflection, of the south-west monsoon current.

As the years go on, the glaciers will greatly increase in the Pamirs and Himalayas. At present there are but few glaciers on the southern slopes; they are permanent only on the northern. As the glaciers increase on the southern and

northern slopes, the attraction of the accumulated ice will cause a permanent increase in the level of the Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal. A rise of 100 feet would cause the sea to extend to Goalpara, 400 miles up the Brahmaputra, in Assam, and engulf Calcutta and the Lower Bengal cities of the Ganges up to Sahebganj.

At present the Arctic ice cap is confined to Greenland. But the Arctic Sea from Norway, along Russia, Siberia, Alaska and the Dominion of Canada, to Greenland is a fair approximation to a circle, showing that in glacial times the Arctic Sea was a solid mass of ice, the glaciers of which flowed on all sides from centre to circumference, as they now do in the Antarctic ice cap, and in their flow forced up the earth upon which they rested on to the shores of the Continents of Europe, Asia and America. All that is needed to re-introduce this condition is that the ice cap at the northern end of Greenland should extend up to Spitzbergen, so as to stop the flow of the Palæo-crystic Sea to the south-west, and, by the attraction of the increased mass of ice piled up, cause the low northern shores of Russia and Siberia to be covered by the sea, to which would be deflected the Gulf Stream round the coast of Norway and Lapland. The evaporation from this sea during the long Arctic summer would cause daily snow-storms and a rapid accumulation of permanent ice.

It is now well understood that the Gulf-Stream, which brings genial conditions to Northern Europe, is due to the northern trade wind, which also in its season brings the monsoon to India, and that this trade wind is attracted by the summer heats on the Continents of Africa, Europe, Asia and America. These heats are intensified by the excess of summer over winter days. At the present time, in consequence of these conditions, the equator of temperature is ten degrees north of the earth's equator. As the summer heats of the Northern Hemisphere diminish, the southern trade wind and the southern Gulf Stream will increase in strength; and this will accelerate the melting of the southern ice cap, which in the Meridian of New Zealand is already deeply fissured and invaded by the sea, and the water set free from it will, through the increased mass of ice in Greenland and the Arctic Sea, gravitate northward, and increase the overflowing, already referred to, of the lowlands of Siberia by the sea.

The greater the area of sea in the Northern Hemisphere, the greater will be the evaporation and condensation in the form of rain, and the accumulation of snow, in the Arctic Zone and in the high mountain ranges, and the greater the prevalence of cold north winds due to this snow. It is not

safe to dogmatise as to what is the rate of yearly rise of the sea-level in the latitude of England and elsewhere. Owing to the influence of the British Association for the promotion of science, self-registering tidal gauges have, since the last twenty years, been set up all over the world, upon which a basis of observed facts will gradually be built up. One of these gauges has been erected on the Apollo Bunder, Bombay.

The climate near the southern ice-caps is becoming more genial and causing the ice to melt. The recent Antarctic expedition noticed that, in one of the islands, plants are now growing where voyagers fifty years ago found nothing but ice. The desert valley of salt lakes between Eastern and Western Australia has emerged from the sea in but recent geological times ; probably a few centuries ago.

The celestial polar, or precessional, cycle due to the conical spinning of the earth's axis will always consist, as already mentioned, of a period of from 24,000 to 26,000 years in length of complete revolution. But the physical cycle depending upon and resulting from it, which produces glacial conditions in Greenland and in the north temperate regions of America, Europe and Asia, as also in Switzerland and the Himalayas, and causes the migration of the human and animal creation from the north temperate to the south temperate zone of the Northern Hemisphere, is accelerated by the attraction of the several planets upon the earth in its orbit round the sun. This orbital attraction, which works in the direction opposite to that of the precessional cycle, causes a complete revolution of the elliptical orbit of the earth round the sun, which is always at one focus of the ellipse, in the reduced period of about 21,000 years. Thus the celestial polar circle, according to the Hindu, Chaldean, Egyptian and modern calendars, makes a complete revolution through the starry heavens in from 24,000 to 26,000 years, but the glacial or climatic cycle makes its revolution in 21,000 years ; that is, the orbital revolution caused by planetary attraction in the opposite direction to that of the precessional cycle is accomplished in about 5,000 years, and is really a sixth cycle.

This orbital revolution has no effect upon the period of time taken by the polar circle in completing its apparent revolution through the stars, which according to modern astronomers brings the north pole back to its original pole star in the period of about 26,000 years. Nor has this revolution any practical influence upon observations of the stars, for the reason that the orbit of the earth is so infinitely small as compared with the distance of the nearest star. But it has this important physical effect. It reduces, from 26,000 to 21,000 years, the period of time which the earth takes in coming back

to its original orbital position, when in the northern winter it is nearest the sun in the line of the transverse diameter of the earth's elliptical orbit on the shortest day, and the winter half of the year is in consequence of this position eight and a half days shorter than the summer half. Thus the sixth cycle of orbital revolution modifies the period of the fifth cycle of polar revolution, and so really forms a seventh cycle made up of the combined attraction of the sun, moon and all the planets. As these several bodies are never in the same relative positions, it follows that the period of time occupied by this physico-glacial-genial cycle in any two revolutions can never be of exactly the same length. The present length, of about 21,000 years, has been computed by modern astronomers; the ancients appear to have been ignorant of it.

Our real polar ice-cap is not at the North Pole, but on the island-continent of Greenland, which is from 8,000 to 12,000 feet high, and 380,000 square miles in area, forming a mass of flowing glaciers equal to a circle 700 miles in diameter. The southern ice-cap is 2,500 miles in diameter, and is thus twelve times the area of the Greenland ice-cap. As the southern ice-cap is estimated to be twelve miles high at its centre, while that of Greenland is only two and a half miles high, the mass of the former is more than fifty times that of the latter, and therefore exercises that additional attractive force upon the level of the sea.

It was the fashion for the scientists and materialists of the last generation to ridicule the possibility of Noah's flood, to which allusion has already been made. But a study of the physical maps of Europe and Asia shows that, on any sudden lowering of the level of the Arctic sea along the shores of Eastern Russia and Siberia, due to a partial or complete breaking up of the ice-cap, the waters could escape only on the west side of the Ural Range, down the valleys of the Don and Volga, into the low lands between the Black Sea and the Caspian. The area of the escaping waters would be 2,500,000 square miles, which would rush partly into the Caspian and partly into the Sea of Azov, overwhelming the Crimea in its course. The pent up waters could finally escape into the Mediterranean only along the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles. As the Bosphorus is only one mile wide, any one with an experience of the bore up the Hughli at Calcutta can form some conception of the height of the storm-wave that would be raised, and the devastation that would be caused by the escaping waters, compressed into the space of one millionth of their original area.

The writer invented and designed the wave compressor at the Back Bay Swimming Bath, Bombay, in which a

wave thirty feet long is compressed into a width of two feet. The force is such as to fill the bath to the height of five feet above sea level, and to send the wave at times right across the bath into the air, a distance of thirty feet. If reducing the length of a wave from thirty feet to two feet has so powerful an effect, what must be the result of confining the escaping waters from the north in the narrow channel of the Bosphorus !

DAVID GOSTLING, F. S. A.

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## ART. XI.—THE PUBLIC HEALTH OF INDIA.

**I**T is a matter for sincere gratification that India as a whole, and the Government of India in particular, are showing distinct signs of having realised the necessity for doing something to foster the study of Preventive Medicine in this country. Like the moisture of the coming monsoon, some such intention has been "in the air" for a considerable period; a vague impalpable something, a floating vapour of rumour which has occasionally reached saturation point, and, becoming condensed, has fallen locally in a welcome shower, as an Imperial Bacteriologist, a laboratory of sorts, a Special Commission, or the promise of a site for a Pasteur Institute.

Who it is that, by his verbal artillery, has helped to bring down these sprinklings, is a question which it is needless here to discuss in detail. A large meed of praise must certainly be given to the late Sir Spencer Wells and to Mr. Ernest Hart, that far-seeing and much-reviled editor and writer; for, though it is true that the Indian Medical Service, and more particularly some of its comparatively junior members, have again and again urged the necessity for such a development, the somewhat saddening fact remains that a prophet in his own country is apt to be regarded as a bore or a visionary, in any case as an official inferior (so the phrase runs), and *ipso facto* incapable of knowing more than his "service" entitles him to know. Let the credit be given to who hungers for it; the point of importance is that the monsoon of scientific progress, harbinger of national health and wealth, is clearly discernible in its advance Simlawards, ready, let us hope, to burst ere long o'er that Olympian spot.

"When," as had been said before, "the Government of India makes up its mind to do a thing, it generally does it well," and when, as occasionally happens, it is not done well, the defective performance can generally be traced to the initial adoption of mistaken advice in high quarters. It is not so much that those in high quarters are not well-informed; indeed, it is freely admitted that they are generally very well informed; but they are not omniscient. In other countries the administration is constantly prevented from error by the force of an active and intelligent public opinion—a force which, for a variety of reasons, is an almost negligible quantity in India, more especially because of the rules which very properly debar officials from engaging in public discussion. It is, therefore, the more incumbent on those who are able, to



do what they can, when opportunity offers, towards the prevention of unwitting injustice, or the commission of errors, whether of excess or of limitation. This we say in no spirit of idle carping, or of irresponsible criticism, but from a sincere desire to help a cause of such magnitude and power for good as it has become already under the Governments of Europe and America, and which, more than money, more than shot and shell, more even than art and literature, is an index of civilisation and an acknowledgment of the claims of humanity.

Assuming, then, that all whose opinion is of value are agreed upon the necessity for something being done in the direction of the higher branches of preventive medicine, as distinguished from, or, rather, in addition to, ordinary medical work and practical sanitation, let us set before ourselves, as clearly as may be, what is embraced in that 'something.' For this purpose it is impossible to do better, in the first place, than to take a look at what is being done in other countries where such work has been for some time an integral portion of the internal economy. Unfortunately, in this respect, England has lagged far behind, and is only now beginning to try for a place worthy of her reputation in this honourable contest. To France, Germany, Russia, Italy or some other continental power we must go to learn what is understood by the study of hygiene, as distinguished from the practice of sanitation. These countries have long ago realised the vital fact, so forcibly insisted upon by all sanitarians, that nothing is so costly as disease, and that from a purely pecuniary point of view there is no better investment for a portion of the national wealth than institutions devoted to the systematic, unflagging study of the means by which health may be maintained and by which diseases are caused and spread.

The 'common sense' of England, which we hear so much about, long ago recognised the immediate value of sanitary improvements in the shape of pure water, fresh air, and the removal of all offensive matters from the neighbourhood of dwellings. Unfortunately, that same common sense, dominated, as it is, so largely by a commercial spirit, considered that, when it had opened its pockets freely to the demands of the sanitarians and could point to elaborate schemes for water-supply and drainage, to a greatly improved style of living amongst the general population, to clean streets and airy dwellings, it had done all that could reasonably be required of it, and that it was rather too much to expect it to give money for the upkeep of laboratories and institutes of no immediately apparent use or profit. Happily, that feeling is passing away, largely as a result of the fact that John Bull

has slowly begun to realise that he is being beaten, and badly beaten, in the contest for hygienic supremacy. Whilst other nations were accumulating knowledge of incalculable value through the labours of their scientists, and actively applying that knowledge to the improvement of the conditions of life in their countries, the mass of Englishmen was content to go on, year by year, with the same hazy principles, and a practice defective, not from want of energy, but from want of the exact knowledge which results from unremitting investigation and experiment alone. That England maintained her supremacy at all in practical sanitation, was due simply to the fact of her great wealth, whereby she was enabled to survive the failure of schemes that would have ruined her less opulent neighbours.

In almost every continental town of importance there exists some kind of 'Institute' in which all that relates to practical hygiene receives attention day by day, year by year. Some of these 'Institutes' are on an immense scale and possess, more or less, a national character; others are essentially municipal; but the difference is merely one of degree. The best known to the ordinary reader is probably the Pasteur Institute in Paris, to which references are so constantly made in magazines and newspapers. To a certain extent this must be regarded as a drawback, for the simple reason that it has led to the common acceptance of the idea that bacteriology, and more particularly the prevention of rabies, is the be-all and end-all of scientific investigation in the domain of disease. Whilst, however, the study of bacteriology has proved itself of the highest value and has achieved magnificent victories, the important fact remains, and cannot be too constantly insisted upon, that this is after all but a portion of what is embraced under the term practical hygiene.

So little is this understood, that we have heard it stated by some that, in comparison with bacteriology, nothing else is of much importance, and by others, that bacteriology, has nothing to do with hygiene; the implication being, apparently, that hygiene is a finished (or effete?) subject, about which everything that requires to be known is known already, but that there really are a few things still to be discovered as to the doings of bacteria! Which of these ideas is the more erroneous, it were hard to determine. To serve as a corrective for both views we cannot do better than give, in a very condensed form, a summary of the subjects dealt with in the standard work, **METHODS OF PRACTICAL HYGIENE**, by Professor Lehmann of Würzburg, and translated by Sir W. Crookes, F.R.S.

Section I. is entirely concerned with chemico-physical methods, and contains chapters on chemical laboratory work, the

use of the spectroscope, the determination of absolute and specific weights, the principles of quantitative analysis, measurement and calculation, &c. Section II. deals with the methods or technique of bacteriology, and contains a *conspectus* of the various kinds, or forms, of bacteria, whilst Section III. is a short chapter on hygienic-toxicological investigation, *i.e.*, the effects of various substances upon the animal economy, and how these effects may be studied. Part II. is devoted to Special Investigations, and even a summary would be too lengthy to quote. The following list of contents of Sections IV. and V. will serve to give the reader some idea of what a mass of work is included in practical hygiene which is not solely bacteriological: Examination of the Most Important Constituents of Food—Determination of the Carbohydrates—Examination of the Utilisable Character of Foods—Decision on the Nutritive Value and Cost of Articles of Food—Hints for an Examination of and Decision on Dietary-Scales—Examination for Chemical Preservative Agents—Decision upon Preservative Agents. A very large portion of the second volume is devoted to considering articles of food in detail, and perusal of the chapter on milk, showing how much is known and yet how many points require further investigation, even in Germany, will convince the most sceptical of the vast amount of work ready-to-hand in India on this and kindred subjects. Other chapters are devoted to Clothing—its behaviour with air and water, its thermic properties, permeability to the rays of the sun, etc.; to Buildings—materials for, plans of, natural and artificial illumination of, ventilation, etc.; the Methods for Investigating the Causes of Epidemic Outbreaks; the Examination of Disinfecting Agents and Apparatus, etc., etc. Secondly, it should be noted that there is not a single section of the book which does not refer to, or deal with, the practical study of bacteria in relation to the matter under discussion. Thus, we have the bacteriology of air, of water, of soil, of milk and other foods, of buildings, etc. From all of which it is pretty evident, firstly, that there are other things in hygiene besides bacteriology; secondly, that bacteriology is an integral portion of practical hygiene.

In the study of this subject there are, therefore, problems of every kind to be investigated and, if possible, solved; problems which require a wide knowledge of chemistry, meteorology, geology, physiology, medicine and, in fact, almost every natural and physical science. It is obvious that one man cannot know everything, and that there must be, therefore, specialists in the different branches; but it is none the less true, though much less obviously so, that the primary requisite for a practical hygienist is the widest possible general education, combined with the skill requisite for verifying or

rejecting the conclusions of others on special points. We know that there are some who would confine every man's work within narrow bounds, and who maintain that a man must be only a chemist, or a bacteriologist, or a helminthologist, or a physician, and so on. That such a view is erroneous, we have no hesitation in asserting. It is certainly necessary to have the aid of such men, and all the knowledge that can be gained from workers in purely pathological, chemical or bacteriological laboratories is, and must be, of the highest value. The mistake consists in considering any such special laboratories as fulfilling the needs of a hygienic Institute. Every large German town, almost, has its special laboratories for all kinds of scientific, technical or medical education, and more especially for the education of chosen pupils in research work. But, besides these, there are, *e. g.*, in Berlin and Munich, true Institutes of public health, in which *any* question relating to health, whether as to building materials, to sewage purification, to the clothing of troops, to the movements of ground water, the bacteriology of living-rooms, the disinfection of hospital wards, etc., etc., can be examined into by the regular staff, or by attached workers. So, in India, to limit the functions of such an institute to bacteriology, or to the preparation of antitoxins, would be an error of the first magnitude ; to call it an Institute of Public Health, a misnomer. No doubt bacteriology in its many aspects would bulk largely in the work done ; but it is very far from being the only branch of hygiene that urgently requires attention.

This being understood clearly, we may pass on to consider the actual requirements of India, due regard being paid to the possibilities from a pecuniary point of view.

First, then, there must be a central Institute, which may fitly be known as the Imperial, or the Victoria, Institute of Hygiene. Locality is unimportant so long as the conditions of accessibility, coolness and comparative nearness to the seat of government are fulfilled. An unlimited supply of water and gas are essentials. It must contain rooms for physical, chemical, pathological and bacteriological work ; a good workshop for the manufacture and repair of apparatus ; a photographic room, lecture-theatre, vivaria, abundant space for the conduction of out-door experiments relating to buildings, sewage purification, etc., and suitable quarters near at hand for the workers and attendants.

It must be remembered, also, as indicated previously, that such an institution would not merely deal with problems of disease, but would most undoubtedly afford the means for investigations of various kinds, having as their

direct object economy of Imperial and Municipal expenditure. To take an example ; the disposal of sewage is admittedly a problem embracing not merely the public health, but also the outlay of large sums of money. Experiments, *i.e.*, not mere haphazard experience, but accurate, scientific experiments, have demonstrated of late how sewage may be purified and rendered sufficiently innocuous for discharge into a stream, by filtering it through filter-beds of the simplest construction charged with certain kinds of bacteria. It is of vital importance, on every ground, that these experiments be repeated under the conditions of climate, soil, sewage composition, etc., which obtain in the tropics. If such experiments were properly carried out on the lines of those in England, Berlin and Massachusetts, the results would be of highest value from every point of view. Want of space precludes further examples ; else we could fill pages by the mere enumeration of problems relating to food-supply, ventilation, building construction, purification of water, etc., that await their solution in India.

Thus, roughly, we have indicated some of the functions of the Victoria Institute of Hygiene. Theoretically, there should be, no doubt, such an Institute in every Presidency and province. Possibly, in time there will be ; but practically it is out of the question for the present. On the other hand, a central Institute situated, say, near Simla, must, by reason of distance, a comparatively limited staff, etc., confine its operations, as a rule, to questions of general application. Each Presidency or province cannot have its large Institute, but each requires some place in which the various local questions that are continually cropping up can be dealt with, and which will form to a certain extent a training ground for fresh workers and an educational centre for health officers, sanitary inspectors, medical students, etc., and a place in which laboratory work, a museum of hygiene and open air demonstrations to pupils can be organised and carried out.

The largest towns, such as Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, absolutely require some place for general laboratory work in connection with their municipalities, hospitals and medical schools. One town has a small municipal laboratory ; another has a hygiene laboratory for teaching purposes ; another has its so-called research laboratory. Not one of these fulfils the requirements above-mentioned, and there is great danger of the multiplication of small and insufficiently-equipped laboratories, in place of a central laboratory combining the functions of education, research and municipal work. It is far cheaper to have one efficient laboratory, with several rooms thoroughly equipped, a small museum of hygiene attached, and the whole in charge of a permanent superintendent, than to have separate laboratories and equipment, and different

individuals in charge of each. A still more serious mistake is the proposal for each presidency or province to have its bacteriologist pure and simple, working in a special laboratory, remote from his material, and without the co-operation or assistance of fellow-workers. It is, indeed, a mistake from every point of view—pecuniary, educational, scientific, municipal; and its adoption will, we prophesy, prove relatively expensive and abortive. In the central Institute all such work would be far better performed, with the assistance and better means available, whilst the existence of the local or Presidency Public Health laboratories, say, in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta to begin with, would simplify the problems of municipal work and the education of sanitary students of all kinds.

There appears to be in some quarters an idea that the duties of a chemical examiner and a practical hygienist are almost, if not quite, identical. This is also a serious error, and the attempt to combine them is bound to result in neglect of one set of duties or the other. In any case, the Chemical Examiners to Government in the three chief towns of India have enough and more than enough to do, without extraneous duties of any kind whatsoever.

There remain, then, to be considered the source and numerical strength of the staff, firstly, for the central Institute, and, secondly, for each laboratory in the Presidency towns.

From what has been said before, it is obvious that the superintendent of a laboratory devoted to public health work must on no account be a pathologist, or a bacteriologist, or a chemist, *pure and simple*, but a man with a wide knowledge of disease, such as only the physician who has worked at his profession in its curative and preventive aspects can have. He must, at the same time, be a man of scientific bent, to whom private practice offers no inducement, and who has kept himself abreast of the times in his knowledge of modern hygiene. He himself would work, when possible, at something more particularly in his own line, for every man, however wide his knowledge, must have some work which he is specially fitted to undertake. Turning over the Table of Contents of the well-known volume, *Physiological and Pathological Researches*, by the late T. Lewis and Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel D. D. Cunningham, C.I.E., we find papers on the Causation and Spread of Cholera, from many points of view, a line of research continued by Cunningham to the present day; the Fungus Disease; the Oriental Sore; Leprosy in India; Enteric Fever Pathology; the splendid series of papers on Hæmatozoa and other Parasites, and a Report on the Dietsaries of Labouring Prisoners in Indian Jails.

There are at the present time several officers of considerable

seniority in the Indian Medical Service, including Surg.-Lt.-Col. D. D. Cunningham, perfectly capable of assuming the directorship of such a laboratory, and of combining the administrative and executive functions, with success. What is *not* required, is the appointment of some individual who is known chiefly for brilliant surgery, or for the economical management of a jail, or simply as a 'good all round' man, professionally or otherwise. The primary requisite is for him to be a scientist, in the proper sense, with, secondarily, a wide knowledge of Indian life and conditions. The only other *ex officio* permanent official required is an assistant, or deputy superintendent, who should be a man of similar qualifications, but more junior and, if possible, distinguished in some special branch of hygienic research, in addition to wide general knowledge. The rest of the staff should be made up of four or five officers, one each from Bombay, Madras, Bengal and the N.-W. P. and Panjâb, who have given evidence of scientific tendencies and capabilities in one or other direction.

In this connection it must be remembered, as being unalterably true, that the scientist, *i.e.*, the man who can carry on useful research work, is born, not made. Honours, gold medals, etc., are no real touchstones of his capability. Indeed, as often as not he lets the chance of obtaining such go by in his dogged attempts to settle some problem which has fascinated him. More cannot be said here save to emphasise the facts that, on the one hand, a wide experience of modern laboratory workers has convinced us that such men, amongst Englishmen, must be carefully sought for, and that, on the other hand, amongst the medical officers of every Presidency there are three or four men who are perfectly capable of undertaking the work required, with the certainty of achieving valuable results in time. But they must, when selected, be left alone, or, rather, be left under the sole charge of the superintendent, and not worried with G. O.'s and requests for Reports on fixed dates, etc. If, within a reasonable time, say, one year, they give evidence of capability for doing useful work, as judged chiefly by the value put upon their researches by the medical and scientific press of India and Europe, they should be retained till they have completed their work, receiving a proper scale of pay and allowances. Other officers might be detailed from time to time to undertake special investigations, provided they satisfied the superintendent as to the usefulness of their intended research, and that his opinion was officially endorsed.

The past history of such work of this kind as has been done in India induces the fear that one of two forms of injustice may prevail, either of which is sufficient to condemn the scheme. In

the first place it has become the custom, whenever there is a scientific enquiry of any kind on the *tapis*, to appoint a Special Commission or a Special Commissioner, in nearly every case from extraneous sources. They, or he, may, or may not, be English; the point is that they are not (with the rarest exceptions) officers of the Indian Medical Service. Now, this is undoubtedly an error of policy as well as an insult to what is the finest medical service in the world. If the officers of this service had been given a fair trial in scientific work and had failed, there would be reason for such a line of action. But we say, emphatically, that they have not been given such a trial. The writer of a recently published pamphlet, of very considerable interest,\* has noticed this, and in the course of some remarks, pertinent to the subject, says: "Many years ago the Indian Government sent two officers to Europe for special training, and thereafter employed them in scientific investigation. Most excellent work they have done, and have largely cleared the ground for future workers; but, though one died years ago, a martyr to duty, his place is yet unfilled, and the other has been rewarded, after years of service, with a C. I. E. Apparently, because these two men did not succeed in unravelling at once the innumerable conditions of disease-causation in India, the authorities are disgusted." Such a complaint should be impossible: we want many more, not fewer, such workers.

One of the highest scientific authorities in India, himself unconnected with the Indian Medical Service, wrote to us recently as follows: "If a man makes himself an expert he is punished and his promotion stopped. He is a constant source of annoyance to the powers that be, by his advocating subjects and necessities beyond their comprehension. It is an easy matter to dispose of him and his demands by saying the country is too poor to go in for scientific luxuries. The time comes when cholera, plague, plant-disease, cattle disease, &c., force our rulers to take a different view. Popular opinion becomes too strong for them; but they meet the position by at once saying: We must and will import this scientific expert, so that; perchance, from his vast knowledge, he may, during a month's tour over India, solve our difficulties. Their action is hailed as that of great statesmen, few being able to see that we have in India scientific men of quite as good, if not better, standard than at home. All our men want is opportunity and encouragement in order to show the comet-like exploration of the foreign scientist in their true light." That there is a strong feeling of bitterness on this subject, at present,

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\* *Medical and Sanitary Reform in India.* Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and London.



amongst the officers of the I. M. S., is perfectly evident, and we consider such a feeling is perfectly natural under the circumstances. But we hope and are inclined to believe that this attitude is passing away, and that we shall shortly see definite encouragement and approbation of the scientific acquirements of officers of the I. M. S. If so, it is safe to prophesy that the Government of India will be the gainer in every way.

The other point requiring notice is that, if the appointments to the Victoria Institute are to be regarded as a close preserve for the nominees of Simla, the demands of justice and efficiency will equally remain unfulfilled. It should be a standing rule of the Institute that each of the chief Governments has the right to nominate one of its officers to the working staff of the Institute. Further, we would on no account confine these appointments exclusively to the I. M. S.; on the contrary, any man, of whatever nationality or standing, who gave satisfactory evidence of powers of research, should be eligible for appointment under similar conditions. What is wanted is the best work from the men who know India best and who have shown that they mean to serve that country to the limit of their strength and ability.

For the Superintendentships of the Presidency laboratories, which should obviously be permanent appointments, it is essential that the occupants be men of wide knowledge, with ability for research and, what is no less important, ability as educational officers, so that by example and precept they may train up men who will prove themselves in time to be of the highest practical value to the Governments and Municipalities they may be called upon to serve. Three such appointments for three of the largest towns in the world cannot, from any aspect, be considered excessive.

The question of expense is naturally one which will occupy an important place in the consideration of any such scheme. Indeed, the Government of India and Secretary of State would probably sanction such a scheme to-morrow could it be shown "that no extra pecuniary burden would be incurred by its adoption."

The fact that the authorities responsible for the administration of Indian finances are in a pretty tight corner at present is patent to all; and the recent expeditions on the frontier coming on the top of plague, famine and earthquake have not tended to make matters easier. On the other hand, things are looking up somewhat, inasmuch as exchange is high, good rain has fallen and the worst of the fighting will soon be over. Unfortunately, there are signs of a serious recrudescence of plague coincident with the onset of the cold weather. Apart from these general considerations, it is admittedly

most desirable to see whether something cannot be done in the way of retrenchment, as a set off to the working expenses of the Victoria Institute and Presidency Laboratories, and that, too, in the manner which suggests itself to every one who considers the matter from an unbiassed point of view.

Granted that ten medical officers in all are required permanently for this work : granted, also, that Government is desirous, and we believe that it is so desirous, of encouraging and raising the status of the uncovenanted branch of the Civil Medical Service, as far as possible. We say that, beyond all doubt, both of these desirable aims may be attained by the simple, legitimate and entirely unobjectionable process of handing over a certain number of the less important second class civil charges held at present, actually or 'on paper,' by the I. M. S. to the Civil Assistant Surgeons. The suggestion is not novel ; allusions to it will be found in the pamphlet before referred to, and in various articles published in the Indian medical journals during the last few years. Taking the whole of the second class charges in Bengal, the N.-W. P., the Panjab, Central India, Madras and Bombay, we are perfectly certain that from fifteen to eighteen of these might, without detriment to any one or anything, be given to men selected with great care from those now in the Uncovenanted Branch of the Civil Medical Service or to others who would willingly join under these additional inducements. The prospect of holding such charges would have an excellent stimulating effect upon that service, particularly if it were understood that the change was experimental and its permanence contingent upon its success.

Suppose fifteen such charges turned over in this manner, the money saved, inclusive of difference in pensions, would probably be not less than eight thousand rupees *per mensem*. The present *cadre* of the I. M. S. would not be interfered with, and no discontent could arise on this ground. In certain interested quarters it is the fashion to pretend that such a change would be 'unworkable,' 'risky,' and so on. A consideration of the facts that many of the uncovenanted men hold British qualifications, that some of the Indian graduates are excellent men in every way, and that there are plenty of cases where two men, not to say brothers, have gone through the same training, but, whilst one with more money than the other has thus been able to get into the service, the other, by no means his inferior in any way, has had perforce to remain in the subordinate service. This sort of thing cannot be avoided, of course ; allusion is made to it merely to emphasise the fact that the re-imported product is not *necessarily* superior to the purely home-grown ; whilst, alternatively, if the re-imported

product is good enough for anything, so to speak, it is absurd to contend that a precisely similar article (though destitute of a coloured label) is unfit for use in the manner suggested.

We hope that the Government of India will realise the advantages to be gained from such a change, and will impress upon the Secretary of State the necessity for its early adoption. According to the latest information, sufficient money will ultimately be available to secure a monthly income of six or seven thousand rupees from capital invested. We think it would be wiser, however, not to trust to this alone. Unforeseen expenses are certain to arise and, in any case, the reform above indicated is eminently desirable.

All honour to the Indian Princes and Princesses who have shewn by their enlightened action and liberality that the health of the people is a matter of practical concern to them, and have thereby earned the united thanks, not of India and Britain only, but of the whole civilised world.

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## ART. XII.—THE FOUNDING OF PONDICHERRY AND THE BIRTH OF MADAME DUPLEIX.

THE peace of Aix la Chapelle left Louis XIV at liberty to realise his dreams of French aggrandisement in India. The French East India Company had been founded, under the auspices of Colbert, in 1664 ; and in the following year the French had entered into trading relations with Madagascar, occupied the Island of Bourbon and sent an ambassador to the Court of the Great Moghul. In 1668 French factories were established in India, at Surat and at Masulipatam on the Coromandel Coast. On the 1st April, 1666, the King's ambassador to the Great Moghul had written to him urging him strongly to make a naval demonstration on the coast, with a view of abating the pride of the Dutch ; but it was not till 1668 that Louis finally decided to send a fleet to the East Indies.

In May of the following year, Colbert, the Minister of Finance, prescribed the measures to be taken to provide for the armament of the fleet. His order directed that, "for an expedition of this kind, in which the majesty of the king is to be displayed, it is necessary that the vessels to be employed in the service should be of a superior class and be equipped with more than ordinary care and regard for display." In the directions given to Admiral de la Haye, who was appointed first Viceroy of the French East Indies, the king wrote, through his Minister : "His Majesty considers that the ships assembled under your flag are strong enough to resist any maritime power that may oppose his designs."

The expedition was nevertheless destined to bring misfortune and shame to all concerned in it.

The fleet sailed from Rochefort in the month of April, 1670, and halted in the bay of Saldaigne, in the Cape de Verde Islands, during the following July and August. Arriving off Madagascar in December, 1670, it remained there till the following May. A further stay of some weeks was made at Bourbon, and it was not till the end of September, 1671, that the fleet reached Surat. There the Directors sent out by the Board of the newly formed French East India Company to administer its affairs in India—M. M. Baron, Blot and Caron—landed ; and the Admiral, in accordance with his instructions, placed himself at their disposal.

"Act according to the views of the Directors," the king is reported to have said to them, "even though you should not approve of them. To all acts of war the representatives of the East India Company will be opposed. The great aim of the

expedition for the moment is to display to India the grand and imposing spectacle of a magnificent and powerful fleet. Later on it will be decided what form the action of the fleet shall take."

That operations against the Dutch were even then in the king's mind can hardly be doubted. War, however, was not declared against Holland till six months later; and in the meantime the question was what to do with the fleet. For three months, in spite of frequent deliberations, the Directors were unable to arrive at an understanding on the point. In the meantime Admiral de la Haye grew impatient and convened a council on board his ship, to which Father Ambroise, a priest who had been specially recommended to him by the king, at the instance of the Chancellor, Segulier, and M. Guillaume de Lamoignon, the President, was invited; and, after prolonged discussion, it was decided that the fleet should sail for Ceylon, where a cinnamon plantation should be established. It was further agreed that the three Directors should separate, M. Caron sailing with the fleet, M. Blot remaining at Surat, and M. Baron going on a mission to the Court of the Great Moghul.

This arrangement would seem to have shown no little acumen on the part of the Admiral and Father Ambroise, for M. Caron was notoriously friendly to the Dutch, if not in their pay, and M. Baron alone, of the three, was a man of courage or parts.

The fleet sailed from Surat in January, 1672, touching at Goa on its way to the South, and reached Calicut in February. There the Admiral was received by the Zamorin, who, with a view of freeing himself from his allegiance to the Dutch, invited him to establish a settlement in his territories and offered him a plot of land, defended by a tower, at Batacota, at the mouth of the river Palipot. Admiral de la Haye accordingly hoisted the French flag at Batacota, and the result was that, no sooner had the fleet left for Surat, than the Dutch, as a lesson to the Zamorin, destroyed the place.

On the return of the fleet from Surat, Admiral de la Haye again put into Calicut and learned what had taken place; but, though the Zamorin implored him to avenge the insult, offering him the assistance of his troops for the purpose, he did not see his way to attacking the Dutch. He, however, assured the Zamorin that his master, the King of France, should be informed of the occurrence, and that he would not fail to demand reparation from the Government of the Hague. At the same time, de la Haye entered into an alliance with the Zamorin and again set up the French flag near that of the United Provinces.

It is said that, some months later, when, being in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, the Admiral sighted the Dutch fleet, which, though he was unaware of the fact, was on its way to Calicut to punish the Zamorin, he would have attacked them, and was on the point of making signals for that purpose, had not Caron, who had recently rejoined the French fleet from Java, protested so strongly against such a course, that, in his letter reporting the incident to the King, de la Haye wrote that the man had almost led him to think he had committed a crime in having contemplated it.

Owing to the presence of the Dutch fleet, the French were unable to effect much in Ceylon, and de la Haye, finding his supplies running short, was eventually obliged to leave for the Coromandel Coast.

He reached Tranquebar on the 13th July, and, three days later, the Capucins stationed there forwarded to him a despatch of the King, dated 20th June, 1671, informing him that he had declared war against Holland and warning him to put himself in a condition for defence.

The feelings of the Admiral, when he reflected on his lost opportunity, may be well imagined, and he was at no pains to conceal his opinion of Caron from that official. Whether the counsels of the French had been betrayed by Caron, or not—and the suspicion that they had been may seem to some to be strengthened by his accusing the Capucins Friars of betraying them—the Dutch had employed the interval since the meeting of the Council at Surat in occupying all the best positions on the coast.

De la Haye's hope of being able to re-victual his vessels at Tranquebar was doomed to disappointment. The Governor had undertaken to supply provisions for money; but he now, not unnaturally, withdrew from his undertaking. M. de Lort, in his work, from which most of our facts are taken, attributes this to the maleficent influence of Caron, who, he says, had had a private interview with the Governor. But the circumstances scarcely justify such an inference.

Foiled at Tranquebar, the Admiral set sail for the fortified town of St. Thomé, which had been surrendered by the Portuguese to the Chief of Golconda six years previously, and of the fame of which he had heard from Father Ambroise at Surat. The Governor, however, not only refused to sell him any provisions, but insulted the officers whom he had sent on shore to procure them and drove them from his presence. De la Haye accordingly determined to attack the place, and five hundred men, with eight pieces of artillery, were landed for the purpose on the 24th July. Fire was opened the next morning by the fleet and the artillery on the beach, and

after a brief cannonade, Captain Rebrè, who was sent forward to reconnoitre, found the ramparts deserted and the gate undefended ; whereupon de la Haye entered the town with the entire force. Large quantities of provisions and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors, and the Governor was compelled to humiliate himself by kissing the Admiral's feet, a punishment which M. de Lort considers to have been far too slight for his insolent conduct.

The triumph of the French, however, was of short duration. The general expectation was that re-inforcements would be sent from France, and that their success at St. Thomé would be the forerunner of more important enterprises. But these hopes were doomed to disappointment. In the excitement of his victories in Holland, Louis appears to have forgotten his Viceroy in the East Indies, and, after fighting six battles by land and sea with varying success, de la Haye, with his little band of 600, found himself blockaded by the Dutch fleet and besieged by a Mahratta army 10,000 strong. Reduced to the last extremity by famine and want of ammunition, he was compelled to capitulate on the 6th September, 1674, after an occupation of twenty-six months.

But ingloriously as it thus terminated for France, the expedition was not destined to be wholly without enduring result. It was, in fact, the disaster at St. Thomé that, thanks to the enterprise, the energy and the gallantry of Francois Martin, led to the first occupation of Pondicherry.

Francois Martin was the son of a Parisian tradesman and was born in the year 1635. The sudden death of his father leaving him unprovided for, he found himself compelled in his eighteenth year, to take employment as an assistant in the warehouse of a dealer in colonial goods. As time went on, he gained the confidence of his employers, in whose behalf he made several voyages to the Low Countries ; and it was not long before he found an opportunity of turning to account the knowledge of Eastern trade which he thus acquired. When the French East India Company was formed, he had lately married, and, learning that the Directors of the Company were in search of qualified employés, he offered them his services and was engaged as a junior merchant. He sailed from Brest in the Spring of 1665 ; and, after being employed first in Madagascar and then at Surat, came to Masulipatam. There he met M. Baron, who had been called by Admiral de la Haye to the Coromandel Coast, and was taken into his confidence.

After the capture of St. Thomé, the Admiral summoned Baron to his side, and the latter took Martin with him. When supplies ran short, it was mainly to the efforts of these two men that de la Haye was indebted for the re-victualling of

the place and thus enabled to prolong his resistance ; and, early in 1674, when the end was approaching, he charged Martin with the task of looking for some spot on the coast, further to the South, wherein to take refuge and establish a colony.

Martin, accordingly, with sixty other Frenchmen, set sail from St. Thomé, in a ship called the "Diligent," and, eluding the vigilance of the Dutch, landed at Pulchery, a fishing village, some thirty leagues from St. Thomé. There, after the capitulation, he stationed himself, with his little band, while Baron retired to Cuddalore, where Sirkan Soude, the Governor of the country on the part of the King of Vizapur, had his residence.

Being jealous of the chief of Golconda, who supported the Dutch, the King of Vizapur, says M. de Lort, was easily persuaded by Baron that his interest lay in an alliance with the French ; and, had Louis listened to Baron's eloquent representations, a treaty might have been concluded by which France would have obtained the Coromandel Coast together with the suzerainty of both Vizapur and Golconda. Louis, however, looked coldly on the project ; and ultimately Baron returned to Surat in October, 1675, to die there, eight years later, broken down by the climate and disappointment.

In the meantime, the indomitable Martin, cast upon his own resources, applied himself diligently to the difficult task of securing the permanence of his enterprise at the future Pondicherry. He took every opportunity to add to the number of his followers. Men from the Company's ships were induced by him to throw in their lot with the new colony, and even officers of rank were, from time to time found willing to join it. A mission was despatched by Martin to Madras, and one of its results was that its members formed matrimonial alliances with respectable Portuguese families settled in that city, an example which was, no doubt, followed, later on, by others among the colonists. But, in spite of all Martin's efforts and the success which attended them, Pondicherry continued to be neglected by the French Government, and twenty years had hardly passed by before history repeated itself. In 1693 the place was besieged by the Dutch ; after a desperate defence its garrison were compelled by famine to surrender, and Martin returned to France. There he spared no effort to convince the Company of the importance of re-establishing the colony whenever the fortunes of war should render such a course possible.

The opportunity was not long delayed. In 1697 the peace of Ryswick restored Pondicherry to the French, and in 1699 Martin was re-instated in his position of Governor and provided with ships to take out the establishment and stores necessary for the resuscitation of the colony.

On board one of these ships there sailed, as surgeon, a certain



Jacques Theodore Albert, whose father before him had been a surgeon in the Company's service, and whom Martin persuaded to remain at Pondicherry. In 1705 this Jacques Theodore Albert was deputed to Madras, and there, shortly afterwards, he married a young lady named Elizabeth Rose de Castro, but baptized as Joanna, the daughter of one Thomas Lopez de Castro, a Portuguese, by an Italian lady. The first offspring of this union was a girl, who was baptised on the 2nd June, 1706, and who was the future famous Madame Dupleix.

The writer of the article on Dupleix in the *Calcutta Review* for July, 1893, speaks of Madame Dupleix as Marie Françoise de Castro, who was born on the 18th March, 1708, and remarks that, notwithstanding the difference in the Christian name, there is no doubt that it was this child who became the historical lady in question. But the only reason which he gives for this assurance is the insufficient one that, in the certificate of her marriage with Dupleix, her age is given as 33 years, which, as the marriage took place in 1741, would carry back her birth to 1708. As a matter of fact, however, the future Madame Dupleix was baptised, not as Marie Françoise, but as Jeanne, after her mother's baptismal name; and, as her baptism, the certificate, of which exists, took place on the 22nd June, 1706 she could not have been born in 1708. The certificate, which is signed "Fr. Thomas—Cap. Apostolic Missionary; Cuperly and Albert," runs as follows:—

"To-day, the 2nd June, 1706, I baptised a girl named Jane, the daughter of James Theodore Albert and of Elizabeth Rose de Castro, her father and mother. The Godfather was M. Francis Cuperly, Merchant of the Royal French Company, and the Godmother was Madam Jan de Castro."

To this it may be added that the M. Francis Cuperly here mentioned was a nephew of Madame François Martin, the wife of Francis Martin, the founder of Pondicherry, whose maiden name was Marie Cuperly, and the Godmother, Jan de Castro, was the grandmother of the infant.

The future Madame Dupleix was thus a Creole by birth, her father being a Frenchman and her mother a Portuguese of mixed descent. The writer of the article on Dupleix, just referred to, attributes the doubt that has arisen regarding her identity to the fact that, at the time of her first marriage, to M. Vincens, she was only eleven years of age. But the date we have given, about which, in the face of the baptismal certificate, coupled with the fact, admitted by the writer in question, that she was always called Jeanne in documents, and that Jeanne, being the baptismal name of her mother and grandmother, as well as the feminine equivalent of that of her father, was specially appropriate to an eldest child, there

can hardly be any doubt, makes her thirteen years old at the time of her marriage.

The certificate of the first marriage runs : " Jeanne Albert married, on the 5th June, 1719, M. Vincens, native of Montpellier, a member of the Upper Council of Pondicherry."

Francois Martin terminated his earthly labours in the same year in which the so-called Begum was born, dying on the 30th December, 1706, at the age of 71. His remains were, at his request, interred in the centre of the Citadel of Pondicherry, of which he had laid the foundation stone in 1701, and at the inauguration of which he had had the satisfaction of presiding, on its completion, in the August before his death.

At the time of Martin's death Pondicherry had risen from an obscure fishing village to an important town of 40,000 inhabitants, a sufficient testimony to the success with which he had administered its affairs for an uninterrupted period of thirty-two years.

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ART. XIII.—CHAUCER'S COUNSEL.

The night had been a sea of trackless streams,  
Possessed by navies of conflicting dreams,  
Till morning, like a herald breathing peace,  
Lulled the disorder ; and the welcome beams

Part-lit my chamber, while among them stood  
Phosphor, and motioned me to such a wood  
As he who sang the Marguerite, so loved  
In spring-time ; there I, following as I could,

Saw glades and alleys, and, across them drawn,  
Soft gossamers that wavered in the dawn,  
And dewy slopes, with bracken hung, above  
The lines of watercourses, to a lawn

Where had been set a garden ; none more fair  
In Gulistan, or that august repair  
In which our Milton saw, with inward eye,  
The cedars shining in the golden air

Of the first morning ; and the light was poured  
On wealth of bloom and bud ; and all the sward  
Was starred with beds of coloured flowers that men  
Had planted—to the glory of their Lord.

But I, with shame, said : “ Wherefore came I here .  
Who cannot show such things ? ” To which a clear  
Voice of a hidden speaker, hard at hand :—  
“ Do what thou canst, for truth there is no fear.”

And, as I lay and hid my face, “ Arise ! ”  
Once more the voice, “ Follow, with downward eyes  
The path thou findest, making no pretence,  
And gather, if so may be—a modest prize.”

I heard the words ; I rose and took the Quest,  
And, as I wandered, gathered to my breast  
Such things as pleased me, till the way returned,  
And the trees blotted all the crimson West.

Then, when I found the garden still a-glow,  
I sighed to think that I had loitered so ;  
And, casting to the ground the things I had,  
I loathed the weeds that made so poor a show.

"Only," I said, "if some one, passing by,  
Might say—The harvest of a loving eye  
That would not have been brought, except by one  
Whose looks were tutored by humility."

So I. There came no answer from the wood,  
Nor knew I if my speech was ill or good,  
But the cool moonlight shimmered ; and in front,  
Flooded with light, a marble palace stood.

Domes cut the sky with curves erect and pure,  
The pinnacles were few, the windows fewer,  
The portal arch rose high, and underneath  
Transparent blackness filled the embrasure.

I entered, and beheld an eight-side screen  
Of jewelled frame, with fretted work between,  
Midmost of which there stood, in postured calm,  
The seeming image of an ancient Queen.

Yet had it little form or comeliness,  
And what it stood for I could only guess ;  
I judged it to be human, by the shape,  
And took it to be woman, from the dress.

Moreover, many paps were on the breast,  
And on the head a crown, made like a nest  
Where pigeons dallied ; but the eyes were blind,  
And pulsing throbs, with motion manifest,

Under the robe made never-ending rout ;  
But, if the Thing lived or lived not, was doubt ;  
And many worshippers, in various guise,  
Thronged in the murmurous precincts round a'bout.

Some seemed to render what must surely be  
A reasonable service ; for—" In thee "  
They said, " we hail the source of all,  
And presentation of the Deity ! "

~ And these were grave and earnest : but a crowd,  
With brazen brow and voices straining loud,  
Sang to each other of her attributes,  
Their heads in mutual admiration bowed.

And some wove garlands, bright with silken links,  
And some brought wine-cups, beaded at the brinks ;  
The image heeded not their sacrifice,  
But stared with stony eyeballs, like a sphinx.

Such was the mood of either company,  
Each only saw what each desired to see ;  
I noted them, unnoted ; until one  
Who stood aloof from either, turned to me.

His forehead with a single fillet bound,  
He looked as if with vernal sunrise crowned ;  
And yet, for all the glory of his brow,  
His modest gaze was bent upon the ground.

"Son," said he, "thou art dazed and sad of cheer,  
Yet, sad or glad, art honoured to be here ;  
Remember what I told thee in the wood ;  
Do what thou canst, for truth there is no fear."

"This is that Venus who will be, and was,  
Whom all men see that through her temple pass,  
Not fitly lauded for herself alone,  
But made a goddess in an Age of Brass."

If she be rough, endeavour to reclaim her ;  
If she be wild, thy task it is to tame her ;  
But if thou canst not have thy will of her,  
It nought avails to flatter or to blame her.

She is not kind or cruel ; in the May

I loved to sing, her creatures all are gay ;

The pairing birds make merry in the boughs,

And lovers kiss and sing, as glad as they.

But where the desert-sand is hotly tossed,

Or in blank regions of eternal frost,

Where nothing lives but man the wanderer,

Is joy to be forgotten or love lost ?

“ The globe that bred us cannot gain our trust,

With crumbling core and weak perfidious crust,

Reckless of what we feel, or fear, or think,

It rose in vapour and returns to dust.”

“ Man, love and joy ! That three-chord harp, he said,

Strike as thou mayest ; be faithful, hand and head ;

Follow thy spirit, and forego thy lust,

The truth shall thee deliver ; it is no dread.”

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## THE QUARTER.

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A DEVASTATING earthquake, embracing an unusually extensive area ; a series of fanatical riots in the Capital ; the dastardly assassination of two Europeans, one of them an official occupying a position of considerable importance at Poona, and a widespread rising of the tribes on our North-West Frontier, necessitating military operations on a grand scale, would alone suffice to render the past three months memorable in the annals of British rule in India

The great earthquake of the 12th June, which was felt with destructive violence from the Valley of the Brahmaputra to Calcutta in the South and Monghyr in the West, and with greater or less force over a much wider area, and the tremors set up by which were detected by seismometers at places as distant from the source of the disturbance as Edinburgh and Grenoble, began in Assam, not to be too exact, at a few minutes after five o'clock in the afternoon, the shock lasting for about three minutes, and the movement radiating from a point which has not yet been accurately determined in the Garo or Khasia Hills. At Shillong, in the latter hills, every masonry building of any importance, including the houses of the principal residents, was levelled with the ground, and some twenty persons, including two Europeans, were killed, while in the neighbourhood of Shella a large portion of the hill side, there very precipitous, subsided, together with several villages, a great part of the village of Shella itself was destroyed, and, it is estimated, some six hundred persons lost their lives. At Tura, in the adjoining Garo range, as well as at Sylhet, Kuch Behar, Tipperah and Gowhatty, the destruction of buildings was hardly less serious, and in the district of Sylhet the loss of life also was very great ; while at Darjeeling, Jamalpur, Mymensingh, Dacca, Rampore Beaulia and several other places in the neighbourhood, and at Moorshidabad and even Monghyr, South of the Ganges, the destruction was considerable, and at Moorshidabad forty or fifty persons were killed. In Calcutta few buildings entirely escaped injury ; many, including the General Hospital, the Police Office and the Town Hall, were badly damaged, and several were completely wrecked ; but happily only three lives were lost. Great damage was done to the Bengal-Assam Railway line, the opening of which will be considerably delayed in consequence, and in the Khasia Hills and parts of North-East Bengal, extensive depressions and

upheavals of the land appear to have taken place. Altogether it is estimated that some 1,500 lives have been lost, and the damage to property, public and private, done by the convulsion probably represents a sum of at least two crores of rupees.

Owing partly to the occasion with which they were associated, and partly to a widespread conviction that they were prompted by political motives, if not the result of a political conspiracy, and probably the work of hired assassins, the murders at Poona have created a more profound sensation, both in India and in England, than any event of a similar kind in recent times.

The victims, Mr. Rand, of the Bombay Civil Service, and Lieutenant Ayerst, were returning in open carriages, at about midnight of the 22nd June, from the levée held by the Governor at Ganesh Kind, in honour of the Jubilee, the carriage occupied by Lieutenant Ayerst and his wife immediately following Mr. Rand's carriage, which was preceded by one occupied by Lieutenant Lewis. On Mr. Rand's carriage reaching a part of the road that is lined with trees, a man clambered up behind and fired at him with a pistol in the back. The act was witnessed by Mrs. Ayerst, who, however, was under the impression that the man had discharged a cracker; and, a few seconds afterwards, another man got up behind Lieutenant Ayerst's carriage and shot him through the head.

Mr. Rand had had charge of the plague operations at Poona, which had been the subject of much popular indignation and much inflammatory writing in certain of the native newspapers of Poona and Bombay; while Lieutenant Lewis, who had been stoned in the streets, a day or two before the fatal night, had been employed in the Segregation Camp. Lieutenant Ayerst, on the other hand, had not been connected with the plague operations in any way, and the inference is that he was probably mistaken for Lieutenant Lewis.

The assassins made good their escape; and, notwithstanding that a reward of Rs. 20,000 has been offered for information that might lead to their detection, every effort to discover them has so far proved unavailing.

The murders, it should be added, had been immediately preceded by the extensive circulation in Poona and its neighbourhood, of a printed leaflet, in the English language, of a highly seditious and inflammatory character, the authors of which have not been discovered, but which, from internal evidence, it can hardly be doubted, was of Mahratta origin.

Drastic measures have in the meantime been adopted by the Government in connexion with the outrage and the incitements by which it was preceded. A special punitive police force has been quartered on the City of Poona; at

a cost to the Corporation of over a lakh and half of rupees a year. Two notoriously ill-affected members of the Natus family, who are inamdars of the Government, have been arrested, apparently on suspicion of having been concerned, in some way, with the assassinations, under an old Regulation corresponding to Bengal Regulation III. of 1818, which enables the Executive Government, for high political reasons, to arrest and detain, on its own motion and during its pleasure, any persons it may think fit, independently of any intention to bring them to trial, and their property has been confiscated. At the same time, one Bal Gangadhar Tilak, one of the elective members of the Local Legislative Council, and proprietor and manager of the *Kesari* newspaper, and several others, have been arrested and charged with the publication of writings calculated to excite disaffection, under Section 124-A. of the Indian Penal Code; and, in one of those cases, the defendants have been convicted, and sentenced, one to transportation for life and the other for seven years.

In the absence of all information as to the nature of the evidence against the Natus, it would be premature, to express an opinion on the merits of the action taken against them; but it seems very doubtful whether, without clear proof that the outrages were the result of a wide spread conspiracy, or that there is such a conspiracy to shield their authors, the imposition of a punitive police force upon a large population like that of Poona is politic. Regarding these outrages, the writer of the paper on *Indian Affairs* in the *London Times* says, very justly:—

“We may be sure that the Government of India will get at the truth, and that if there was anything approaching to a class conspiracy it will be dragged to light. Till then the crime stands in the same category as the assassination two days previously at Peshawar, and of the Mussulman riots in Calcutta—a crime prompted partly by religious or caste fanaticism, partly by lawless ferocity; one of a series in the long conflict between Indian traditions and Western civilization.”

There seems, however, to be some probability that the feeling produced in the minds of the people of England by these events, by the attitude of the native press, and by the general state of unrest and hardly smothered discontent that prevails throughout India, will lead to important changes in the tone of our administration of the country.

Poona is not the only place in India where the Jubilee was the occasion of a murderous outrage. At Peshawar on the morning of the 21st June, Mr. Ross, the head clerk of the Deputy Commissioner's Office, was driving home from the ceremonial, through the city, when he was shot and mortally wounded by a Ghazi from the Mohmand country.

The Calcutta riots, which began early on the morning of the 30th June and lasted throughout the whole of that, and the greater portion of the following, day, arose out of the execution of a decree of the Civil Court, awarding to the Tagore estate possession of a certain piece of land in Tallah, in the Northern section of the city, on which some Mahomedans had erected what they alleged to be a mosque, but what was, structurally, a mere hut. An application for assistance to effect the execution having been made by the decree-holder, on the ground that resistance was apprehended, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, with a small force of constables, was sent to the spot ; and possession of the land was transferred, and the hut in question demolished, without opposition, though a considerable crowd of Mahomedans had assembled in the immediate neighbourhood, on the 28th June, and the police were thereupon withdrawn.

During the evening of the 29th June, however, owing to the efforts of the late occupant and his friends, a large mob of Mahomedans again gathered on the spot, and, during the early hours of the night, set to work to rebuild the so-called mosque, or rather to erect a brick building in its place. Information of what was going on having been conveyed to the Commissioner of Police, application was made to the military authorities for assistance, and a strong body of police, headed by the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner and supported by a detachment from the Gloucestershire Regiment, together with the Magistrate of the Twenty-four-Per-gunnahs, proceeded to Tallah, and at daybreak the mob were called upon to disperse and five minutes allowed them for the purpose. Instead of obeying this order, they pelted the police freely with bricks ; and on the expiry of the five minutes the police were, accordingly, ordered to charge, which they did with such effect that after a short struggle, the mob fled in all directions. Thereupon, most imprudently, as it seems, not only the troops, but the bulk of the police were withdrawn. The result was that, between 9 and 10 A.M., on the 1st July, the mob re-assembled in greater force than ever, and the Inspector, with his twenty-five policemen, who had been left to keep order, armed only with their batons, were compelled to take refuge in the neighbouring pumping station. There, together with the inmates of the station, including women and children, they were subjected for several hours to a regular siege. Though the mob were fired upon with a gun loaded with small shot by the Inspector, they obstinately maintained their ground, keeping up a fusillade of bricks and stones against the station ; and it was not till the afternoon that the siege was raised by a re-inforcement of police under another Inspector, and the mob, after a short struggle, dispersed.

Later in the afternoon, the rioters seem to have shifted the scene of their operations to the Machua Bazar section of the town. The Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of Police were themselves attacked with stones, while driving through the streets in a dog-cart; shortly afterwards a large body of constables returning from the scene of disturbance at Tallah were attacked, and numerous Europeans and other Christians, of both sexes, among them two officers of the Gloucestershire Regiment were stoned, or otherwise assaulted, not only in the neighbourhood of the disturbed area, but in other parts of the town.

A large body of rioters took possession of Harrison Road, which they barricaded with municipal drain-pipes, after tearing down and making a bon-fire of the old lamp-posts; and, though the street was several times cleared by the very insufficient body of police kept on the spot, who fired on them more than once, they as frequently re-assembled in some other part of the street. At about 3 A.M. of the 1st July, however, this body of rioters seem to have dispersed, or left to swell one or other of the mobs collected in other parts of the section. Soon after sunrise of that day, an attack was made on the Raja Bazar Police station, and, the Balliaghatta station also being threatened, the Deputy Commissioner and a body of police armed with carbines loaded with buck-shot were sent to its relief. This force was attacked on its way by a large mob in Gas Street, and had to fire on the rioters before it could disperse them. Subsequently, the force having divided into three parties, one of them was again fiercely attacked and compelled to fire in self-defence; and at noon of the same day, at the junction of Circular Road with Machua Bazar, another formidable attack was made by the mob on the police under the Deputy Commissioner, in spite of the fact that they were supported by a detachment of soldiers.

The above are only a few of the more prominent incidents of the rioting, during the last day of which, it should be added, valuable service was rendered for the preservation of order by a body of the Calcutta Light Horse.

Wild rumours obtained currency regarding the number of rioters killed, which, at one time, was reported to be six hundred. According to the official report it was only eleven, while some twenty were wounded with shot; but, seeing that no fewer than thirty-four policemen were more or less seriously injured, these numbers seem disproportionately small.

Very general indignation was caused among Anglo-Indians in Calcutta by the statement, attributed, in a Reuter's telegram, to the Viceroy, that the riots were purely local and that their importance had been exaggerated. What Lord Elgin actually telegraphed to the Secretary of State, appears, however, to

have been that the Government considered the outbreak to be purely local and the published accounts of it to be exaggerated, facts neither of which can very well be disputed. As to the importance of the riots, in one of their aspects, it is so great that it could hardly be exaggerated; and it is doubtful how far the fact of their being local can be held to detract from it. Apart from the aspect in question, the rioting, serious as it was allowed to become, would be merely a flagrant instance of a very ordinary form of fanatical turbulence which is always liable to occur in similar circumstances. The fact, on the other hand, that unoffending Europeans and other Christians who were in no way concerned either with the subject of the dispute or with the suppression of the disorder, were insulted and in many cases brutally assaulted by Mahomedans of the lower class, whenever a favourable opportunity for the purpose presented itself, merely because they were Europeans or Christians, is without precedent in the history of Calcutta, and is proof of the existence of a feeling which, unless it is checked, is full of menace to the peace of the country.

It is clear, moreover, even from the official reports, that, though the police had little difficulty in dispersing them when, ever they attempted to do so in reasonable force, the mob were in practically undisputed possession of a considerable portion of the Northern Section of the town for upwards of thirty-six hours; and one cannot help reflecting what would have been the state of affairs if, instead of being directed to the limited purpose of vindicating what they believed to be a religious right, and, to that end, of defying and resisting the representatives of authority, and insulting and assaulting Europeans, their efforts had been directed to general plundering and destruction of property.

Unqualified praise has been bestowed by the Bengal Government on the manner in which the disturbance was dealt with by the police authorities. The opinion thus implied, however, is hardly that which a study even of the official reports is likely to have produced on most persons. Nor, apparently, is it the opinion which such a study has produced on the Government of India, who virtually censure the Commissioner of Police for leaving a weak guard without fire-arms at Tallah after what had taken place on the night of the 29th and early morning of the 30th June, as well as for the inordinate delay that occurred in relieving it. To the writer, it seems hardly less extraordinary that nothing effectual should have been done to prevent the mob from re-assembling on the site of the alleged mosque on the evening of the 29th June; still more extraordinary that they should have been left in undisturbed possession there for several

hours, and most extraordinary of all that, after they had been dispersed, on the morning of the 30th June, no effective steps should have been taken to prevent their re-assembling later in the day.

With greater justice the subordinate members of the police force have been praised by both Governments for their conduct during the riots. But even here some qualification seems to be required. It is quite true that, wherever the police were brought face to face with the rioters in force, they behaved admirably. On the other hand, it seems probable that among the members of the force on street duty at Tallah and in the neighbourhood on the 29th June there must have been many who knew well enough what was brewing; and, if such was the case, it would seem to follow that either they or their superiors must have egregiously failed in their duty.

Some days after the suppression, or the subsidence, of the disturbance in Calcutta, an attempt was made by the work-people from certain of the mills above Barrackpore to march to Calcutta for the purpose of renewing the rioting; and, on their way, a body of them made a series of attacks on the premises of the Alliance Mill, the hands employed in which had held aloof from the movement; but they were fired upon with shot and driven off by the European employés at the Mill, and the whole of the rioters were eventually turned back by police and troops sent out for the purpose from Barrackpore.

On the 2nd July, when the rioting had ceased, but there were still apprehensions of its renewal, certain leading Mahomedans of Calcutta, apparently under an erroneous impression, issued a leaflet to their co-religionists, informing them that the decree-holder had agreed to surrender the land to them. This, however, was promptly repudiated by the gentleman in question, who, as a matter of fact, had not the legal right to make such a surrender; and a second leaflet was subsequently issued by six out of seven of the signatories of the original document, explaining that he had only a life-interest in the land, and that a mosque could not lawfully be erected on it, or on any other land not permanently appropriated to the purpose.

The tribal upheaval on the North-West frontier, which, from first to last, has involved five distinct points, and has necessitated the despatch to or across the border of some of 60,000 men, began, on the 10th June, with a treacherous attack by the Madda Khels, at Maizar, in the Tochi Valley, on Mr. Gee, the Political Officer, and a body of some 300 native troops with their officers who had accompanied him as escort. Mr. Gee was on a purely peaceful errand, and the party were being entertained by the Maliks when the attack was made.

The officers with the single exception of Mr. Gee, were all shot down ; and the force, taken by surprise, was compelled to retreat with a loss of some fifty killed and wounded.

A strong punitive expedition, which was promptly sent into the Valley, met with no organised resistance, and destroyed the strongholds of the offending tribe, who ultimately submitted.

Hardly had this force completed its work, when, on the night of the 26th July, the British posts at Malakand and Chakdara, in the Lower Swat Valley, were attacked by the local tribes in great force ; and it was only after severe fighting, extending over several days, and after severe losses on our side, including an ominously disproportionate number of officers, that the enemy, 3,000 of whom are believed to have been killed or wounded, finally dispersed. The rising in the Swat Valley, again, was followed, on the 8th August, by a rising of the Momunds, who, to the number of 4 or 5,000, attacked the Fort at Shabkadr, but were driven off after a sharp conflict in which four British Officers were wounded and some sixty non-commissioned officers and men killed or wounded. Then, some twelve days later, came a rising of the Masagais in the Kurram Valley, which, however, does not appear to have assumed any great importance, and on the 22nd August the Afridis, whose attitude had, for some days, been reported as threatening attacked the Forts in the Khaibar in great force, and, after a short resistance on the part of the small garrisons of the Afridi levy by whom they were held, captured and burnt them, in spite of the close neighbourhood of a force under General Elles which must have numbered at least 8,000 men. In addition to these more or less formidable risings, there have been disturbances on the road between Kelat and Quetta, and three Sirdars of that part of the country have been arrested (one of them was subsequently released) under circumstances that have not yet transpired.

This succession of attacks seems to point to the operation of some common ferment, rather than to a conspiracy ; and that ferment is not improbably to be found in a wildly exaggerated estimate of the significance of the victories of the Sultan's forces over Greece, a country which, as one of the Calcutta daily papers well points out, is still regarded by ignorant Mahomedans as typical of all that is powerful in the Occident.

The fact that many of the Amir's subjects were known to have taken part in the risings led the Government of India to address a strong letter of remonstrance to that ruler, who, in his reply, which was made with remarkable promptitude, denies that any of his troops joined in the movement and warmly



repudiates all sympathy with it or its authors. Previously to his receipt of the letter of the Government, but after its despatch, it should also be stated, the Amir issued a proclamation warning his subjects against taking part in the movement.

Lord George Hamilton made his Indian Budget Statement in the House of Commons on the 5th August. From the figures given by him it appears that the total loss to the State under the head of famine, including the consequent deterioration of the opium revenue, in the past year, amounted to Rx. 5,444,200, and, on the whole account, it was expected that the anticipated surplus of Rx. 463,100 would be converted into a deficit of Rx. 1,593,500. As regards the accounts of the current year, he said : " The revenue this year was taken at Rx. 59,629,700, and the expenditure was taken at Rx. 62,093,700, or Rx. 2,072,600 more than the revised estimate of last year. The deficit was thus Rx. 2,464,000, or Rx. 477,100 more than last year. This increase in the deficit was mainly due to the increase in the expenditure on famine relief out-weighing the augmentation hoped for in the revenue. The revenue, taking the land-tax, the salt-tax, and various other things, was better by Rx. 2,485,300. On the other hand, there were certain deductions to be made on account of a falling off from other sources of revenue amounting to Rx. 889,800. Therefore, the net revenue was better by Rx. 1,595,500. The increase in expenditure on the famine account was Rx. 1,653,300 ; and other charges were slightly in excess of last year by the sum of Rx. 477,100. Therefore, summing up the three years, we had a surplus in the first of Rx. 1,534,000, a deficit in the second of Rx. 1,593,000, and an estimated deficit in the third of Rx. 2,164,000, making a total excess of expenditure over income for the three years of Rx. 2,464,490. He had just received a telegraphic communication from the Government of India, estimating that the charges this year would be increased from famine, railways, the expedition to Malakand, &c., by Rx. 1,460,000. Against that there must be placed the rise in exchange and the better harvest ; and if these gains were realised he was hopeful that at the close of the year the deficit would not be much in excess of that budgeted for at the beginning of the year."

A Resolution moved by Mr. MacNeill, " That this House views with grave disapproval the fact that famine, plague and pestilence in India have been seized by the Indian Government for an attack on the freedom of the Press in India, and for the revival of the system of arrest of British subjects under the law of *lettres de cachet*, and the indefinite imprisonment without trial of persons thus arrested ; and desires to place on record its conviction that the only safe

foundation for Government in India is to be sought in the extension to British subjects in India of the full privileges of the British Constitution," was rejected by a majority of 77 to 17, after a debate, in the course of which Lord George Hamilton vindicated the action of the Government of Bombay and the necessity of the law under which they had acted in arresting and deporting the brothers Nattu, regarding whom he said they were very notorious men, and it was not the first time that they had come under public notice. "They had, in fact, been prime movers in a great deal of disturbance; but he could not, as the object of the Government was to do justice, state the reasons which had induced the Government to arrest them. He believed, however, that they were rightly arrested, and that by that means the Government of India might achieve its end, which was the unravelling of this foul conspiracy."

At an earlier period in the evening the Secretary of State had made a statement to the effect that certain libellous allegations regarding the conduct of the European soldiers employed in the plague operations at Poona which had been made by one Professor Gokhale in the Conference Room of the House of Commons, had been formally and unconditionally withdrawn; and on the previous day Sir William Wedderburn had apologised to the House for the part he had taken in introducing Professor Gokhale to its members. Lord George Hamilton also read out to the House facts and figures which tended to show that the petition of the Dekkan-Sabha regarding the plague operations at Poona was, to all intents and purposes, a bogus document.

The monsoon, though it set in late, has so far proved, on the whole, very favourable to agricultural operations throughout the greater part of the country; and, though prices have not yet materially fallen, there has been a reduction of about one-third in the number of persons on relief-works. Should the weather continue favourable, it may be confidently expected that the coming cold weather will see the end of the prevailing distress. The plague, on the other hand, though it is officially reported to have disappeared from Sind, still smoulders in Bombay, has broken out again with renewed virulence in Poona and Kirkee, and is extending along the line of the South Mahratta Railway in a way that points to the urgent necessity of vigorous measures for the protection of Southern India.

Among the legislative measures of the Quarter, the most important is the new Cantonment Bill, which was introduced in the Viceregal Council on the 8th and passed on the 22nd July. The Act, which consists of three clauses, empowers the Govern-

ment to make rules for the prevention of a certain class of diseases and extends to medical officers the powers in the matter already possessed by Commanding Officers. An important series of new Rules have been framed under the Act. The Bengal Council has passed the Bill to amend the Law of Partition.

Only the briefest glance can be given at Home or Continental affairs. Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee was celebrated throughout England and Scotland with equal enthusiasm and success, not the least remarkable feature connected with the proceedings being the excellence of the official arrangements, owing to which, even in the Metropolis, there were no serious accidents; and the most striking of the displays of which the celebration was the occasion being the great Naval Review at Spithead, which seems to have produced a great impression on the Foreign visitors.

The peace negotiations between Turkey, Greece and the Powers continue to drag their slow length along, the crux of the situation being, as Lord Salisbury's statement in the House of Lords shows, exactly what we anticipated in our last retrospect.

"The territory acquired by the Turkish Army having been assigned to Greece by international arrangement," said the Prime Minister, "the Powers had from the first held that Thessaly was not to be retroceded to Turkey, and generally that Greek communities who had not been under Turkish rule were not to be placed under it. On the other hand, it was recognized that the Sultan's demand for a rectification of the frontier in a strategical sense was a reasonable one; and the Ottoman Government had accepted the strategical line traced by the Military Attachés of the various Embassies, and consented to relinquish Thessaly to Greece. Then, according to modern precedents, Turkey had a right to an indemnity for the war which she did not certainly bring on, while the payment of such an indemnity by Greece was accompanied by many difficulties; and the Turkish Government proposed that, apart from the general territorial arrangement, there should be a reservation of strategical points to be held until the indemnity had been paid. As to that proposal he could not at present say what the determination of the Powers would be. Difficulty had also arisen as to the question of the German bondholders, which might lead to considerable delay; but he thought they were in sight of a probable issue by which enough money would be provided to satisfy such an indemnity as the Powers deemed just; and when that was done he hoped that all the Greek population of Thessaly would return to Greek dominion."

The fact, apparently, is that Germany, while strongly supporting the Sultan's claim to an indemnity, insists no less strongly on the bondholders being secured, as a condition precedent of any arrangement for guaranteeing its payment. Great Britain is said to have made a proposal for limited international control over the Greek finances which would reconcile the two interests, and it is reported that Russia and France are inclined to accept this. In the meantime there are no signs of the Sultan's Armies releasing their hold on Thessaly, and, indeed, there would seem to be no particular reason of either justice or policy why they should do so.

The South African Committee of Enquiry have submitted their report, in which they strongly condemn the action of Mr. Rhodes for subsidising, organising and stimulating an armed insurrection against the Transvaal Government, and for deceiving the High Commissioner, his colleagues in the Cape Ministry and the Chartered Company. At the same time they exonerate Mr. Chamberlain, the Under-Secretary for Colonial affairs, and Lord Rosmead, but censure Sir Graham Bower and Mr. Newton for not communicating to the High Commissioner the information that had come to their knowledge.

A motion by Mr. Stanhope condemning the action of the Committee was rejected by an overwhelming majority, Sir W. Harcourt supporting the Government, and the Government have announced their determination, out of regard for Mr. Rhodes' past services, not to punish him, and to amend, but not abolish, the Charter.

One of the most important events of the period has been the denunciation of the Treaties of Commerce with Germany and Belgium, as a consequence of the offer made by Canada to give certain advantages to British goods in her tariff, and in accordance with an undertaking of Mr. Chamberlain that no commercial treaty should be allowed to circumscribe the rights of the self-governing colonies to frame their own fiscal policies.

The Egyptian forces under General Grenfell have resumed their advance in the Soudan and captured Abu Hamed after severe street-fighting. Among other prominent events of the period under review have been visits of the Emperor of Germany and President Faure to St. Petersburg, the latter of which was the occasion of popular demonstrations of a most effusive character; the visit of the King of Siam to England, and of the Duke and Duchess of York to Ireland; the assassination of the Spanish Premier, Canovas, by a socialist, who was arrested, and has been tried, condemned and executed; the conclusion of a treaty between Great Britain and King Menelek, a great strike of engineers in England, and the sub-

mission to the United States Congress of an important message on the Currency question, in which the President insisted on the necessity of establishing the Currency and Banking system on a better basis, and urged that the question should not be postponed till the regular Session of the Congress. The House adopted a Resolution authorising the appointment of a non-partisan Commission to recommend a plan for this purpose; but the Resolution was not accepted by the Senate, and the Houses adjourned.

Parliament was prorogued on the 6th August. It is understood that Sir William Lockhart succeeds Sir George White as Commander-in-Chief in India; and Sir Evelyn Wood becomes Adjutant-General and Sir George White Quarter-Master-General of the British Forces in the United Kingdom.

The obituary of the past three months includes the names of Lieut.-General E. O. Hewett, C. M. G.; Baron Oscar Dickson; Mr. Barnard Barnato; Major-General Beville, C. B.; Colonel Bunny (killed at Malzar); Professor Fresenius, the celebrated Chemist; Bai Motebai Wadia, and the Rani Sarnamoyi, famous for their charities; General Sir F. F. Maude, V. C., G. C. B.; Captain Boycott; Dr. Steenstrup, the Zoologist; Mrs. Oliphant, the popular Novelist; Admiral Sir W. R. Mends; General Sir R. Cadell, K. C. B.; Lt.-General C. E. P. Gordon, C. B.; Surgeon-General Herbert Taylor Reade, C. B.; Mr. Henri Meilhac, the Dramatist; General Sir R. D. Kelly; Major-General Sir George J. Smart; Captain the Hon. Denis Bingham; Mr. Mundella; Jean Inglow; Sir John Skelton (the Shirley of *Fraser* and *Blackwood*); Sir John C. Bucknill; Mr. Robert Blair M'Cabe; Mr. Samuel Laing; Senor Canovas, the Spanish Premier; Signor Costa, the Bishop of Wakefield; Sir Walter de Souza; Surgeon-General Cooke.

*September 10, 1897.*

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## SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

*Administration Report on the Jails of the Punjab for the year 1896.* By Surgeon-Captain R. J. Macnamara, Officiating Inspector-General of Prisons, Punjab. Lahore : The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1897.

THIS Report was submitted with such commendable punctuality as to reach the Government on 1st May, the very day on which it was due, for which H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor very graciously thanks Surgeon-Captain Macnamara, as he does also for the energy and ability with which that Officer has carried on his duties as Officiating Inspector-General during the 8½ months he has held charge.

The total population contained in the Punjab Jails was as follows :—

Remaining on 31st December	1895	...	11,863
"	1896	...	12,756
Average number during	1895	...	11,722
"	1896	...	12,240

or an increase, in the latter year, of 893 and 518, respectively ; the "admissions" during the year showing an increase of 593 when compared with 1895, and 2,935 when compared with 1894. This fact is attributed, probably justly, to the great pressure of scarcity. The increase is principally under cases of "Theft," &c. (351), and "Housebreaking," &c. (286). An additional argument in favour of the supposition that want has led to crime is to be found in the fact that prosecutions for "Bad livelihood" and "Belonging to a gang of thieves" diminished by 606 cases. Evidently loose habits alone were found insufficient to support life. Difference of procedure, too, is very marked in the case of the last named prosecutions, as of the decrease of 606 cases, four districts alone, Jhelum, Peshawar, Dera Ghazi Khan and Bannu, furnish no less than 590. These are, however, matters more directly concerning the Criminal Administration of the Province.

Glancing at the list of "Previous Occupations" of convicts, it is satisfactory to find that "Persons in Service," &c., have diminished by 604, but, on the other hand, the fact that "Persons engaged in Commerce," &c., have increased by 380, looks bad for commercial morality.

Recognition of accused parties, in order that previous convictions may lead to enhanced punishment, appears to have been fairly frequent, as we find that, out of a total of 22,069

admissions, 2,414, or 10 per cent., were so identified, in addition to 108 who were afterwards proved to be "Habituals." Dr. Macnamara makes a suggestion which appears well worth consideration, *viz.*, that the 1,800 "Solitary Cells" would be much more usefully employed in segregating "Habituals" than in giving effect to sentences of solitary confinement.

The "Mark" system of rewarding prisoners for good behaviour seems to have given rise to much diversity of opinion as to its effect. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that the gaining of marks and thus cutting short his term of imprisonment must present itself so favourably to the criminal, as to ensure increase of good behaviour, while Dr. Macnamara thinks that either the system is not sufficiently understood to be so much appreciated, or the convict is not so hardly treated during his detention as to cause him to sacrifice all considerations of personal comfort, &c., in order to escape therefrom as speedily as possible. There would, however, appear to be a third view which might be taken of the matter, and on the principle of the old proverb, "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," the convict might prefer the illicitly and even dearly purchased luxury of indulgence in tobacco or opium, in the present, to the somewhat hazy prospect of diminution of his days of incarceration, in the dim and distant future.

There were 22 escapes during the year, as compared with 18 in 1895, 15 from inside and 2 from outside the jail walls; and it seems that it is the recent arrivals who are most anxious to regain their freedom.

Some of the methods adopted for escaping were extremely ingenious, the cleverest, perhaps, of all being by throwing a rope over the outer wall and then securing the other end to the drainage grating which lay at the man's feet.

The 15 extra-mural escapes were all attributed, in a greater or lesser degree, to carelessness on the part of the guards. Ten re-captures were made from among the year's escapes, 2,293 Departmental punishments were inflicted on a total number of 1,570 employes; but many of these were possibly for trivial offences, *e.g.*, "Neglect of duty," 1,039, "Miscellaneous," 390, and we have the old crime of "Neglecting to present arms to Superintendent," 48; Judicial punishments numbered 75, "Suffering escapes" 28, and "Introducing forbidden articles" 18. There were 249 fewer offences recorded, but the number of employes was smaller, so that accurate comparison cannot be made.

The jail establishments have now all been completely re-organized, and, Dr. Macnamara reports, with complete success. "University graduates are asking for the post of Assistant Jailor, and old sepoys enrolling themselves in the Warder

ranks." Offences committed by prisoners show a decrease of 1,489, principally under the headings "Relating to Work" and "Forbidden Articles;" and it is pointed out, as well worth noticing, that the greatest diminution has taken place in those jails where discipline is most strict and surveillance most carefully exercised. The largest decrease is in the Lahore Female, where offences fell from 1,816 to 385, or a little over one-fifth. The decision as to what constitutes an offence must indeed be largely idiosyncratic, as we find the extremes, among "jails holding over 300 prisoners," of 1,150 offences in Dera Ghazi Khan and 424 at Ferozepore, while amongst "jails holding under 300 prisoners," Amritsur has 988 offenders and Kohat but 72! The most important fact, however, about the table under discussion is found in the footnote. "Habituals," who formed only 11 per cent. of the total "admissions," contributed 45 per cent. of the total punishments, so that evidently repeated confinement does not insure greater obedience to orders. Convict officials are reported to have worked, "on the whole, very well;" 976 of them were punished, but the number employed is not apparent. Expenditure has increased by Rs. 1,23,986, all items being contributory thereto, except that of establishment, which shows a reduction of Rs. 4,838.

Dietary charges alone exhibit an increase of Rs. 68,211 on the previous year; but food stuffs were approximately 33 per cent. dearer, and, had it not been for the forethought of certain superintendents who bought and stored in cheaper times, the increase would have been much greater. Each prisoner cost, on an average, Rs. 68-15-9, compared with Rs. 61-0-3 in 1895.

Convict labour earned Rs. 29,276-1-0 less than in the year 1895; but this would appear to be a fictitious calculation, Rs. 33,409 having been lost by a revision of charges for lithographic printing, which was ordered by Government. An increased profit is shown under many of the headings, and much of the decrease is accounted for.

The vital statistics detailed in Chapter VII are a matter for unalloyed congratulation. The figures speak for themselves:—

Ratio per mille of admissions to hospital ...	1'237
"    "    "    " daily average sick ...	31
"    "    "    " deaths from all causes ...	15'69
while the mortality among the free population stood at 31'3.	

In 1892 the corresponding figures were 2,199, 47, 30'54 and 49'48, and the first three sets of figures have steadily decreased each year.

The conclusion to be drawn that the malefactor is with his regular supply of food, wholesome and plentiful; comfortable lodging, and the incalculable advantage of possessing a resident medical attendant, enjoys just double the chance of life



which is the lot of his less adventurous, but more honest fellow-countryman!

*Annual Report of the Lunatic Asylums in the Punjab for the year 1896.* Lahore: The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press: 1897.

THE information embodied in this report is clearly and concisely set forth, and the results obtained are apparently satisfactory. There are two Asylums in the Punjab, *viz.*, at *Lahore* and *Delhi*; but the housing of all the inmates in one building, which it is proposed to erect at Lahore, is under consideration. As a new building at that place would appear, for sanitary reasons, to be required, while the total number of lunatics requiring to be cared for is not excessive, the amalgamation would seem to be a desirable arrangement. The two Asylums are dealt with separately in the Report.

*Lahore.*—The total lunatic population for the year was 334, *viz.*, 262 males and 72 females, including 10 re-admissions.

When reviewing the report for 1895, His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor was rather dubious about the number of discharges, but events have apparently justified the action taken by the Superintendent, who would seem to exercise much judgment in the matter. Out of 38 certified as cured in 1896, none have as yet relapsed into insanity. The Superintendent himself asserts his anxiety to let as many of his patients go as he safely can, for two most excellent reasons: first, that the surroundings in any Asylum are prejudicial to permanent recovery; and, second, that the Lahore Asylum is an unhealthy one.

The percentage of cases cured on daily average strength is good, being 16·17, and the ratio of deaths is very small, 7·66, the average for the preceding 10 years having been 11·88.

*Delhi.*—In this Asylum the average daily strength was 118·22, *i.e.*, 86·71 males and 31·51 females, and the death-rate was even more wonderful than at Lahore, being only 3·39, as compared with 19·32 in the previous decade.

The percentage of "cures" has, however, fallen considerably, being only 10·15 to 17·98 in 1895, and 19·32 on the decennial computation. Delhi also shows a much higher number of re-admissions, *viz.*, 46; and yet "discharges" were only 18 per cent., compared with 29 at Lahore.

*Lahore.*—Criminal lunatics averaged 61·24, being about one-fourth of the population of the Asylum. At the close of 1895 there were 54 of these individuals confined, of whom 18 had been acquitted on the ground of insanity, 30 were incapable of making a defence, and 32 became insane while in prison, a startling proportion of two-thirds apparently driven mad by imprisonment!

*Delhi.*—gave shelter to a much smaller proportion of criminal lunatics, one-ninth of the population. There were 13 individuals of this class under restraint at the close of the year, only 2 of whom are returned as having lost their senses while in confinement, or less than one-sixth, contrasted with two-thirds at Lahore.

Two lunatics, one criminal and the other non-criminal, escaped from custody at Lahore, but in neither case were the establishment adjudged in fault. From Delhi there were 4 escapes, 3 of the men being criminals and of unproved insanity. The Warders in charge were, however, in each case, severely punished.

The period between the ages of 20 and 40 appears to be the most common for the disease of insanity to become apparent, 113 being entered as between those limits, as against 17 below 20, and 36 from 40 to 60 years. "Mania" is the most general form of the affliction, claiming 111 victims, as against "Idiocy" 9, "Melancholia" 17, and "Dementia" 5.

The report shows a substantial increase in expenditure, both at Lahore and Delhi ; but this is satisfactorily and intelligibly accounted for.

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## CRITICAL NOTICES.

*My Run Home.* BY ROLF BOLDREWOOD. Macmillan and Co., London.

WE hail Mr. Boldrewood's return from the region of pure romance to that of adventure with unmixed satisfaction. In the latter, whether dealing with the old country or the Australian bush he is thoroughly at home, and knows as well as anyone how to tell of thrilling escapades and daring feats of horsemanship in a manner that is wholly satisfying to all who delight in dash and go and are not too sensitive with regard to grammar and style. We are not quite sure how far the writer is to be taken in earnest in "My Run Home," but there is abundant proof that his facts are plentifully admixed with fiction. If we are to take him quite literally, Australia is a very wonderful country and her sons and daughters partake of her fascinations, and are not only gods and goddesses as to physique, but are more than capable of holding their own against all comers in the matter of sport, whether it be racing, hunting, billiards, the noble art of self-defence, or the more gentle pastime of archery. Nor, it must be confessed, do they appear to be at all backward in the game of "brag." However, Mr. Boldrewood's descriptions of hair-breadth escapes in the hunting field, on the race course, &c., &c., are exceedingly good reading, one of the best being that which deals with the taming of the "Pirate."

Thinking something after this fashion, and feeling a world of old recollections rushing in panoramic rapidity through my brain, I took the reins mechanically, and motioned to the groom to leave the horse to me. An Australian always prefers not to have a restive horse held. 'The Pirate' snorted and sidled. He did not know me and consequently did not like me. He turned round several times, and evidently intended to resist even the preliminary stage of mounting. I thought I would favour him with a bush invention. Holding the reins tightened in my bridle-hand, I secured his left ear, and giving it a severe screw, the pain of which rendered him motionless for a few seconds, I mounted lightly, and had my boot well home in the off stirrup before the outwitted animal fairly understood the move. Then fairly aroused, he gave one tremendous plunge, and the fight commenced. Plunge after plunge followed each other, while a succession of kicks high enough to threaten the hat on my head was indulged in, with startling rapidity. A horse of immense power and in high condition, confident and obstinate as is every horse that has gained victories over man, he tried every mode and violent effort known to him to unseat me—all in vain! Proof against the awful galvanic shocks, the lightning side-lunges, the fierce, complicated,

deer-like bounds of the Australian buck jumper, unmouthed, unbitted, almost unaltered—

Wild as the wild deer, and untamed,

By spur and snaffle undefiled—

I was not to be shaken by a thoroughly broken hunter, unable to get his head down, and behind whose splendid shoulders I sat like a rock. After a sharp rally, and the performance of what 'The Pirate' and the spectators considered to be a perfectly unparalleled feat of horsemanship on my part, the partially subdued animal stood stock-still. A cheer burst from the crowd. But the victory was not gained. Rearing wildly, the savage brute trembled on the balance, until I thought he was actually coming over. Leaning forward on his neck, I drew one foot on to the saddle and waited to see which end would touch ground first. I pulled hard on the bit, knowing by experience that a rearing horse always bores down contradictingly, as if you wished to pull him backwards. As he lowered his head and placed his forefeet upon the turf again, I sent in the 'Latchfords' so unreservedly, that with an angry snort he snatched at the bridle, took the bit in his teeth, and stretched out in the full glory of his mighty stride. I headed him for the hedge and ditch, at the break of the shrubbery, and let him go. Before getting near the leap, I indulged him with a give-and-take pull or two, which might have loosened a tooth, but had no effect upon his pace. At racing speed we neared the ditch, on the other side of which was a bank with a low hedge and a single rail. The ditch was broad and deep, so that the rail, about three and a half feet high, was found to be sufficient protection. I steadied him ever so slightly, and sitting still and lying pretty well back, in case of accidents, the desperate brute flew the ditch, but scorning to rise, struck the strong oak-rail with his knees, and snapping it at the ends, carried it out before him like a bulrush. He made not the slightest stagger or stumble, but still strode on, as if the boundary of the county was the natural halting-place. A short mile and yonder are the pollard willows and rushy banks of the brook. It is a wide jump, and at places not too good at the take off. By this time, with alternate slackenings and such sudden drags at the powerful bit as nothing short of a Spanish bull could afford to despise, I am commencing to demonstrate to him what double-bridles are made for. He gives his head a little. He comes on terms. As we near the brook, he collects himself, and racing at it, takes it in what appears to be a mere extension of his stride. I gain the edge of the spinney, turn, and when he has swept over the wide water-jump for the second time, I am confirmed in my conviction that I have under me one of the grandest hunters that was ever backed. 'Jump!' old Patcham had said, with an expression of withering scorn, as applied to the intellect of that person who could, after looking at 'The Pirate's' quarters, doubt his ability 'to clear a town,' 'that's what makes it so hard to bear. He can gallop equal to anything of his year, and jump any mortal thing. Oughtn't that to be a fortune to any man, sir? And to think that I should lose it, all along of his wicked temper. It makes me feel unchristian, sir, so it do.' The pace, the leaps, the conflict had rather subdued 'The Pirate' by this time; so before taking the fence by the shrubbery, I managed to have him pretty well in hand. He deferred to the bridle, lowered his head, and 'gave' peaceably to the compelling curb.

Picking out a wide place and a good hog-backed rail, I sent him at the rail pretty fast, and perhaps remembering its sharp contact with his knees when outward bound, he made no such blunder returning but sailed over ditch and bank and rail after a fashion that

elicited a tremendous cheer from the excited crowd which stood on the lawn to see the run in. As I pulled up the sobered horse upon the lawn, and handed him over to the groom, I was conscious of being the hero of the hour.

During his travels the writer visited Ireland, where he temporarily lost his heart, which was, however, ultimately recovered, but at the expense of some of his faith in the fair ones of the Emerald Isle. It is amusing to learn that the great Irish novelist, Lever, is not so much appreciated in his own country as in ours. He appears to be regarded as having libelled and ridiculed his countrymen in the droll and rollicking pictures he drew of them, a fact which certainly seems to show that, after all, the Irishman is wanting in a certain sense of humour.

'That's the best thing I've heard for some time,' quoth I approvingly. 'Good enough for Charles Lever—eh Daly?'

But to this there was no response. A general coldness at the name of the famous novelist seemed to creep over the merry company. It was odd enough that, not for the first time, I had noticed that this prophet had at any rate no honour in his own country. Why it should be I am unable to divine. As a stranger and a foreigner I cannot of course pretend to say of what delicate distinctions of Irish humour he may have failed to take account. He has represented them as a devil-may-care, droll, sensitive, chivalrous nation, so keenly alive to humour that they could jest on the scaffold; holding high the standard of honour, and preferring death to the loss of it; from the lowest to the uppermost strata of society ready to sacrifice present prosperity to bygone sentiment, but loving home and kindred with that unreasoning passion which no thought of gain can change or destroy.

It may be that he was wrong; that his keen observation, his lifelong experience were at fault, and that his countrymen are in reality a grave, sententious, reserved, money-making people, moved to relaxation only by the purest Attic wit, and always suspending judgment until convinced by a logical arrangement of facts. This is the character apparently which every Irishman thinks photographically correct of himself, therefore of his countrymen. So poor Lever is voted in Irish society to be hardly 'good form,' rather broad and unrefined, but smart enough to amuse outsiders—Englishmen, Americans, Australians, and so on.

In mixing his facts with fiction Mr. Boldrewood is, if we are not very much mistaken, sometimes a little out in his chronology. Judging from the fact that he met Thackeray on a Channel steamer in the year preceding the novelist's death, he must have made his trip in 1862, and yet we find him alluding to Thomas Castro as the claimant to the Tichborne estates. The famous Tichborne trial did not come off till ten years later and the public knew very little of the claimant before that time. Again we find him referring to "the days of Charlotte Brontë" as though that lady had been dead a century, instead of only seven years. These, however, are only trifling blemishes and the book can be recommended as thoroughly wholesome, breezy and, at times, thrilling.

*Monograph on Dyes and Dyeing in Bengal.* BY N. N. BANERJEI, F. A., M.R.A.C., Assistant Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Bengal. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1896.

MR. Banerjei's Monograph on Dyes and Dyeing in Bengal, prepared in accordance with instructions from the Government of India, partakes somewhat of the character of a funeral oration. "Whatever degree of perfection dyeing may have attained in past times," says the author, "at the present day it does not occupy a very prominent place in the list of industries of this country." The ruin of the industry is really much more complete than this very moderate statement might seem to imply. The Census Report of 1891 gave the total number of cotton-dyers alone in the different Divisions of Bengal at 20,786; and, besides these, there were many dyers of silks and other materials. The decay of the industry had even then gone very far; but since then its decline has been increasingly rapid, till to-day it is almost extinct throughout the greater portion of the Province; and, though it is still practiced to some extent in Central Bengal, it is only in Behar, and especially in the district of Patna, that the number of persons engaged in it is still considerable, while even in Patna the number has fallen off by probably not less than ninety per cent. during the last six years. Silk-dyeing still prevails to some extent in Murshidabad, where nine families, employing, perhaps, fifty workmen in the aggregate, are engaged in the craft, and on an even smaller scale in Bankura, Maldah and Bogra; but in all the other silk districts it has entirely died out, while printing is confined almost wholly to Patna.

According to Mr. Banerjei, it is the importation of cheap European goods and aniline dyes that are the chief causes of this decay, and he appears to attach the greatest importance to the latter cause. "Whereas formerly," he says, "when a person wanted to wear a coloured cloth, he was compelled to go to the dyer, who alone knew the complicated processes by which colours could be produced from the indigenous products of this country, he now mixes up European chemical powders himself and simply dips his cloth into a solution of the powders, when a coloured garment is ready for his use." But he also finds other causes of the decay in "want of ingenuity in the production of colours and designs," absence of any attempt on the part of the native dyers to "change their crude processes," and want of capital.

There can be no doubt, we think, that it is largely to the decay of the weaving industry that that of dyeing is due.

Dyers, as a class, were probably never rich ; and it is not surprising, under these circumstances, to learn that they are now very poor. On this head we are told :—

"Their ordinary earnings do not exceed Rs. 8 per month, and in order to maintain their families, they have to take service and ply various trades, carrying on dyeing only as a part of their work. Some have their own lands to cultivate, and as a rule these are in better circumstances. The poorest class of dyers do not earn more than Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 per month, but there are others also who earn as much as Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 per month. Owing to the greater demand for their work, dyers in Calcutta, as a rule, are better off than their brethren in the interior. Exceptional cases may be found of rich dyers in the mufassal, who have a large number of subordinates working under them, and who get more than the earnings quoted above, *e. g.*, in Patna there are some dyers who earn as much as Rs. 50 per month ; in Gaya one rich dyer is said to earn an income of about Rs. 900 a year, two or three others earn about about Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 a year. All these remarks apply to cotton-dyers. The poorest class among the dyers, if they be so considered, are the *doms* who colour baskets and other bamboo articles. Their earnings do not exceed Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 per month. The *chamars* who dye leather, are better off, earning from about Rs. 7 to Rs. 15 per mensem. Potters who dye their earthen pots are generally well off, owing to the great demand for such vessels among all classes of Hindus. Dyeing carpenters, or *Rangsazes*, also are, as a rule, in good circumstances, and earn from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 per mensem. Silk dyers as a class are in better circumstances than those who dye cotton. Their ordinary earnings vary from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per month. Rich silk dyers are to be met with who employ subordinate workmen to carry on their work. There are said to be about nine families of such dyers in Murshidabad, whose net profits average to (*sic*) about Rs. 500 a year. The business of silk dyers depends generally upon the conditions of the silk trade of the districts in which they have their shops. Like dyers, calico printers do not ordinarily earn more than Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per month. At the Serampore printing shops, the proprietors are said to earn from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 per mensem. The experts employed by them earn from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 a month, and the boys under the pressman get Rs. 5 per month. In Calcutta, the ordinary earnings of a printer amount to about Rs. 15 per month."

The author includes in his Monograph a painstaking account of the principal dye-stuffs in use, as well as of the processes and appliances employed for the dyeing both of cloths and thread and of other materials ; but it is to be feared

the interest that attaches to these details is little more than historic.

The work is illustrated with photographs of dyers and printers at work, as well as with coloured diagrams of patterns used in printing, which are of more lasting interest; and in one of the appendices specimens of cotton material dyed in twenty different colours, by native dyers, are given, with the vernacular names of the different colours.

*The Fall of a Star.* BY SIR WILLIAM MAGNAY, BART.  
Macmillan and Co., London.

IN "The Fall of a Star," Sir William Magnay has prepared for his readers a sensational feast not unworthy of Wilkie Collins or the creator of "Sherlock Holmes." He has shown considerable skill in working up the plot to a dramatic climax, the curtain being rung down on the tragedy at the moment when the hero, a political star of the first magnitude, has reached the height of his ambition and seems to have the world at his feet.

The morning papers rang with the praises of Carstairs. The Ministry's wonderful escape was related and discussed from various points of view, and coloured by different shades of political feeling; but all, friends and foes alike, joined in one common panegyric on the man who had saved it. His name was at every street corner and in everyone's mouth. His fame, "gathering strength by flying," grew greater in volume hour by hour as the day wore on. Increasing movement and intercourse of chattering multiplied it until, through the length and breadth of the kingdom, one man dominated men's thoughts, and that man—ah! if they had but known!

Had they but known that the irony of fate had decreed that in this, the hour of his triumph, his sin should find him out, and that, while they were singing his praises, he should expiate it with his life. The reader is purposely, perhaps, left in some doubt as to the degree of culpability attaching to the man regarding the death of Esther Clavadel; but whether he deliberately planned her murder or not, he becomes henceforward a murderer, and his gradual descent on the path of crime is well described in the workings of his own mind when in his last extremity.

He tried to adjust the actual degree of moral obliquity in his own nature: to gauge the preponderance of bad over good in his character; to determine his true position between the here he was to the world, and the villain he seemed to Royde and Loveland.

The death of Esther Clavadel had been his turning-point. From thenceforward the descent of Avernus had indeed been easy. But her death? The mad impulse of an instant; the sudden contraction of a muscle left for a moment uncontrolled by mind, and the deadly agent of the man of science had done its work beyond recall. Murder? No. Not of that wilful girl. But in his heart, his con-



science, his intellect—yes. From that moment he had been a murderer—before that fatal pressure he had been innocent of the very thought. Thenceforth, faced by the consequences of his act, men's lives had seemed of no consideration to him compared with his own; he would have poisoned a whole county in cold blood to save himself.

Was that indeed his state? Yes. Of that he had no doubt. It was a certainty to him; more sharply defined now than ever in the sudden clearness of his brain.

The story is a gruesome one; but original in conception and told with some power; and to those who like their fiction seasoned with mystery and crime, it will prove very fascinating reading.

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*The Philanderers.* By A. E. W. MASON. Macmillan & Co., London,

THERE are probably very few persons who read *The Courtship of Morrice Buckler* will open a new book by Mr. Mason, with a considerable amount of pleasurable anticipation. Among these there will certainly be few who will not lay down *The Philanderers*, his latest work, with a sense of disappointment. The writer this time deserted the paths of quasi-historical romance and attempted a novel on totally different lines which treat of society persons of a very modern and altogether uncongenial type. We say attempt advisedly. Making all allowance for its occasional merits in the way of dialogue and insight into character, we cannot but regard the book as a serious falling off from Mr. Mason's usual standard. The characters are all—not excepting Stephen Drake, the hero—unsatisfactory; most of them are contemptible, and although we are ready to admit that in this they fulfil the writers' intention and justify the title of the book, we are of opinion that they are not the right material of which to make a really interesting novel. There is, moreover, nothing in the story of sufficient power to blind one to Mr. Mason's lapses in English, which are so frequent as to suggest undue haste in the writing of it. Such sentences as "I don't see what right you have got to *marching* into other people's country," "It looks as if he *was* declining in favour," "You are *very interested* in it," &c., &c., are a little trying to the patience of the critic. We hope that, before we meet Mr. Mason again, he will have returned to his old love, and that, instead of the flabby, mean-spirited personages to whom he has introduced us in the book under review, he will give us the more picturesque and robust characters with whom he first charmed his readers.

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*Maria Theresa.* BY REV. J. FRANCK BRIGHT, D. D., Master of University College, Oxford ("Foreign Statesmen" Series). London: Macmillan and Co., Limited. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

*Joseph II.* BY REV. J. FRANCK BRIGHT, D. D., &c, &c. ("Foreign Statesmen" Series). London: Macmillan and Co., Limited. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

THESE two volumes contain an admirably clear and readable account of the politics, internal and external, of the Austrian Empire during the most critical period of its history—1740 to 1790—, a period which covers the War of Succession, the Seven Years' War, the Partition of Poland, and the establishment of Belgian independence. We could wish that the author had given us an ampler account of the private life and relations of the Empress, who, of all the women who have ruled in their own right in Europe, is, perhaps, the most sympathetic; but this, it may be, would have been foreign to the purpose of the series.

Whether in her relations to her husband, to her children, or to her ministers, Maria Theresa exhibited throughout the same unwavering loyalty, the same unselfish devotion, the same nobility. Her attitude at her husband's coronation furnishes a touching instance of these qualities. "In spite," says Dr. Franck Bright, "of the orders of the Elector-Palatine, who had joined Frederick in his protest at the late election, she was received enthusiastically at Heidelberg, and in the midst of a perpetual triumph reached Frankfurt, where all the world expected and hoped that she herself would also be crowned. But she declined the honour. Her health, for she was expecting a child, was alleged as the excuse. The meaner motive of jealousy has been suggested; much more probably it was her wifely feeling which kept her away from the ceremony. Experience had, no doubt, taught her that her husband was not the tower of strength she had hoped to find him. She had already learnt how superior she was to him in every respect. But her love remained constant. She naturally shrank from putting herself forward, conscious that, had she been there herself, she would have of necessity been all in all and her husband nothing; and she was determined that the day should be his triumph and not hers. The mixture of domestic affection, the part which the wife and mother played even in her political action, is one of the characteristics of Maria Theresa which explains the enthusiasm felt for her. Though she refused to be crowned, she had no scruple in showing herself publicly during the festivities. As her husband came home from the solemnity, she ran out to meet him,

waving her handkerchief and joining in the applause of the crown. We are even told—and the little trait is worth mentioning—that she took off her gloves, that the clapping of her hands might be the better heard.”

Of the effect on her of her husband's death, again we are told :—

His death was a terrible blow to Maria Theresa. For a while her mind seemed almost paralysed, and the effects were of a lasting character. Her domestic life was shattered, as many another woman's has been, when the light and joy of her life passed out of it. It seems almost impertinent to follow her in her sorrow. But, in fact, it was her true woman's heart, underlying all her political conduct and her imperial show, which made her so lovable and interesting a person ; and in her sorrow her behaviour was intensely womanly. Though her married life had been on the whole very happy, though she had always devoted herself to her husband's comfort in a way which is simply astonishing considering all the work which rested on her, she now blamed herself for a thousand fancied deficiencies. Though she had long since discovered her own superiority and the futility of her early hope that her husband would be a strong support to her steps, she now pictured him as he had seemed to her in her girlhood, and never spoke of him but as a wise and great ruler. She carried the outward expressions of her mourning almost to excess ; she cut off her hair, wore no jewels, gave away her wardrobe, and lived ever after in rooms draped with black or grey. She could at first bear no signs of gaiety in those around her ; even the wearing of rouge was prohibited. She declared in the first moments of her grief that she had done with the world for ever, and would leave henceforward all business to her son.

Of her fidelity to her Ministers, speaking specially of Kaunitz, her Chancellor, the author says : “ Again and again in the time of crisis Maria Theresa had proved that she was the most faithful of friends. No failure, no mistake seemed able to overshadow her admiration if once excited ; her confidence, once given, was given wholly and never withdrawn.”

When, hurt by the determination of the Empress to associate Count Stahrenberg with him in the work of the chancellorship, though not in its dignity, Kaunitz requested to be allowed to resign, she was inconsolable, and answered him in words of almost passionate friendship :

“ Would he desert her at a moment such as this, when she had just succeeded in securing his influence over her son ? What had become of his warm heart ? had suspicion or envy taken possession of it ? or was she herself to blame ? If so, why had he not told her ? He knew that she had always begged him to speak to her of her faults. She could not believe that his great heart could be poisoned by low-minded jealousy, or by the belief that she would listen to idle prattle. She had learnt in her sad life the fickleness of friends, but had always thought she had one on whom she could rely, and was restful and content. Let him judge of her disappointment. She entirely refused to accept his resignation, and promised never again to speak a word of reproach to him. Her anger was over. One condition alone she claimed, that, whenever a cloud of suspicion rose between them, he

would speak direct to her on the subject, and listen to no one else. And then, in words full of covert flattery, she couples him and his work with herself, as the saviours of the Austrian State, saying that his health must be supported so that he may train others to carry on their work after her death. 'Let us die with weapons in our hands. Such is the only permission and advice that your mistress and firm friend can give you.' "

Of her well-intentioned and intellectually able, but imprudent and unfortunate, son, Joseph, who was co-regent with Maria Theresa during the later years of her reign and ultimately succeeded her, Dr. Franck Bright says :—

Many and various verdicts have been passed on Joseph's character. A pedantic philosopher upon the throne; a meddling busybody who could not leave well alone; a high-handed doctrinaire, trampling beneath him all the natural sentiments of his subjects; a reckless free-thinker. A man of extraordinary enlightenment, suffering the fate of all whose intelligence places them in advance of their age; a real lover of the human race, whose every act was directed to the general advantage; martyr and victim to ignorance and ingratitude. Such may be taken as examples of the various verdicts passed upon him. To the writers of his own time, especially if they happened to have views which collided with his, he is the incarnation of arbitrary ambition. Yet in truth, although there are certain episodes in his policy which give some colour to the charge, his attitude with regard to the other states of Europe seems to have been generally defensive. It is too much to expect that any man should quite avoid the prevalent feelings of his class and time, and the patriotism of rulers in the middle of the eighteenth century went always with the desire for territorial acquisition. No doubt Joseph felt the impulse, and sometimes yielded to it. But the great instances alleged against him—the attempt, for example, to acquire Bavaria—were distinctly of a defensive character. He was deeply convinced, and his mother's history justified the conviction, that the geographical conditions of the Austrian empire exposed it to unusual danger. To consolidate his widespread dominions and form a solid mass to resist the Prussians and the Turks; to be free of distant provinces, whose proximity to his great rivals in Western Europe exposed them to constant danger, would seem to have been his real object. No doubt, in his war with Turkey he aimed at acquiring considerable and valuable additions to his dominions. For the love of trade was strong in him, and he desired free access to the Adriatic Sea. But his primary object was partly to break the power which was a standing threat to his southern frontier, partly to gratify the Czarina, with whose assistance alone he believed himself capable of withstanding the increasing strength of Prussia. From the first, he had learnt to look upon Russia as his only valuable ally. So far from desiring to increase his empire at the expense of Prussia, it is plain from his letters that he lived in constant dread of that power; and it seems likely that, had it not been for the inveterate prejudices of his minister, he would even have sought, when opportunity offered to form a close connection with it.

If to speak of Joseph as ambitious without qualification is to give an erroneous view of his character, it is no less misleading to attribute to him in his domestic government a love of despotic rule. It was his intense belief in the excellence of the measures he was taking, coupled with the hold which his fundamental theory of the State had upon his mind, which frequently gives (*sic*) his action this appearance.

Of the reforms themselves, it must be confessed that there is scarcely one which, carried out under different circumstances, would have failed to produce excellent results. With the exception of a few unimportant ordinances, almost whimsical in their exaggeration, they all breathed a spirit of enlightenment and humanity. They were all directed to the realisation of a very high ideal. They were generally well adapted to the objects sought, and in many instances, in spite of the opposition they encountered, have stood the test of time. That feudal Austria, full of the worn-out relics of the middle ages, has become an empire not unfitted to hold a forward place in the society of modern times, is chiefly due to the legislation of Joseph.

The verdict is one in which most generous critics will concur.

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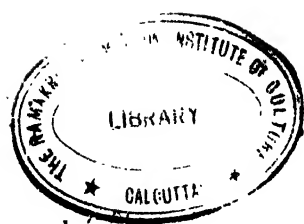
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